

LIBRARIANS

Blackwell Technical
Services LimitedTECHNICAL SALES &
SERVICES MANAGER

To demonstrate and advise librarians and bookshops on the application of *Bookline*, *Perline* and *Storeline*.

The post requires experience in the application of micro- and mini-computers in the field of library automation.

Salary commensurate with this important post.

Write for full details to Dr. P.L. Holmes, Blackwell Technical Services Ltd., Beaver House, Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2ET.

HEREFORD AND
WORCESTER

COUNTY COUNCIL

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

Training, School Library Service, Worcester. This post is suitable for professional librarians who have recently been to library school and who wish to complete a period of work in an approved library or to qualify for the final examination of the Association of Librarians. The successful candidate will be paid on a salary scale of £2,350 per annum and will be eligible for promotion to £2,550 per annum and on becoming a permanent staff member to £2,875 per annum. Further details and application forms available from the County Librarian, Worcester City Council, Worcester, WR1 3SS. Closing Date, 2nd December 1982.

FOR SALE &
WANTED

PUBLISHERS
one interested in acquiring existing learned journals or starting new journals.
Please write to Rank Case, Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

BOOKS from America at published prices. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

DANISH WEST INDIES: prints, maps, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

LEARNED, Scientific and Art/Industrial books, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

ANYTHING PROLOGUE: out-of-print books, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

LITERARY: Greek, Latin, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

THEATRES: Greek, Latin, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

WYNHAM LEWIS PLAYS: Greek, Latin, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

ALL ADVERTISEMENTS
ARE SUBJECT TO THE
CONDITIONS OF
ACCEPTANCE
OF TIMES NEWSPAPERS LTD
COPIES OF WHICH ARE
AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

OVERSEAS

The English department at SUNY-Binghamton plans to appoint a distinguished novelist for the position previously held by John Gardner. We seek an individual of comparable accomplishment who has a serious interest in teaching graduate and undergraduate students. Applications and nominations are welcome. Salary is negotiable. Please write to Bernard Rosenthal, Chairman, Department of English, SUNY, Binghamton, NY 13901. EO/AAE

PUBLIC &
UNIVERSITY

NEW ZEALAND

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
WELLINGTONLECTURERSHIP IN
LINGUISTICS

Applications are invited for the position of Lecturer in Linguistics, which is available from 1 July 1983. The appointee will have the appropriate qualifications to teach Linguistics and English Language, and to undertake research in these fields.

Conditions of appointment, including method of application, are available from the University of Wellington, Private Bag 1, Wellington. For further details, contact the Department of Linguistics, Victoria University of Wellington, Private Bag 1, Wellington. Applications must be received by 15 November 1982.

ENGLISH PLACE NAME SOCIETY
Survey of English Place-Names
RESEARCH ASSISTANT
The English Place-Name Society is seeking a Research Assistant to help with the survey of English place-names. The successful candidate will be responsible for the collection, collation, and transcription of place-name data from various sources. The position is full-time and involves travel throughout the country. The salary is £2,350 per annum. Applications should be sent to the Secretary, English Place-Name Society, 10, Bedford Square, London WC1R 4EJ.

IMMEDIATE ADVANCES
100 to 200%
REGIONAL TRUST LTD.
31, Park Road, London W11 1LE.
Phone 01-581 1111.

RESEARCH ASSISTANCE, translation, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

ANYTHING PROLOGUE: out-of-print books, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

LITERARY: Greek, Latin, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

THEATRES: Greek, Latin, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

WYNHAM LEWIS PLAYS: Greek, Latin, etc. for sale. Also new, used, rare, old, and antique books. Send orders to: Rank Case & Co Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London W11 1LE.

ADVERTISE ALL
YOUR LIBRARIAN
VACANCIES IN THE
T L S
FOR FURTHER
DETAILS
PLEASE CONTACT:
CHERYL DENNETT
ON
01-253 3000
ext 232

ANNOUNCEMENTS

AUTHORS WANTED
by NEW
PUBLISHERS

If you have written a book of any description that you would like to have published please send full details to:
The Book Guild Ltd. (Opp. L.S.2)
221 High St. Lewes Sussex.

NEW BOOKS

CHINA ON THE WESTERN
FRONTBRITAIN'S CHINESE WORKERS
IN THE FIRST
WORLD WAR

Nearly 100,000 Chinese workers helped the British in World War One. This is the first book to tell their story, from their recruitment to their work and, sometimes, their deaths in France.

An extraordinary valuable book. Non-fiction. 236pp. 18p. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Published by: 3rd November.

GEORGE CROSSMITH. First biography of the artist & author of the book 'The Art of the Book'. Available from the author, Tony Joseph, 35, Eaton Terrace, Weymouth, Dorset. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Price £3.50 pb & £10.00 hb.

OMOSTENNES: on the crown of the world. W. W. Woodwin. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

LIVY BOOK XXII, edited with introduction and commentary by J. E. Melville. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

ANCIENT MODERN AND MODERN MODERN. A. J. A. Brown. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

AFRICAN BOOK CATALOGUE. Now available from the Travel Bookshop, 23, Newington Green, London. W11. 01-525 5900.

BOOKS ON ROYAL FAMILIES. 770 items. Crime Read, London. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0.

SOCIAL HISTORY. Cambridge. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Cambridge University Press. £14.00.

MANUSCRIPTS edited and indexed. Catalogues and lists. Word processing. Microfilm. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Cambridge University Press. £15.50.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH ASSISTANCE. A. J. A. Brown. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

RESEARCH ASSISTANCE. A. J. A. Brown. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

TOP CLASS Word Processing at 100% discount. Central Ltd. 01-525 5900.

M.S. TYPING. 100% discount. Central Ltd. 01-525 5900.

© TIMES NEWSPAPERS LIMITED. Published by Times Newspapers Limited, 1, Abchurch Lane, London EC4N 3DF. 01-525 5900.

BOOKS & PRINTS

SANDERS OF OXFORD
104 High St. Oxford OX1 4BW
(0865) 242590

Catalogue 104
ready shortly:
Including autograph letters of
Penny Bunney & Mrs Thrale;
First separate eds of Coleridge,
ancient Mariner & Wordsworth;
Now we are Seven; Annals of
Poetry, 1822-5; Dickens,
Christmas Carol, first issue; Tol-
kein, Lord of the Rings, first ad.
in dust jacket; inscribed books
by Amis, Ayton, Duke of Wind-
sor etc.

AMERICAN OUT-OF-PRINT
readable and
searchable. Prices
quoted in sterling to include
surface shipment. Sterling
checked and correct.
Box 100, Lake City, Tex.
74109 USA. L174

CATALOGUE 30 ready shortly.
Art fine and useful. Illus-
trated in 1000s. In-
cluding Criticism and Modern
Art, Topography, Travel and
other subjects. 1000s. 1000s.
Box 100, Lake City, Tex.
74109 USA. L174

ARAB WORLD-CENTRAL
Asia - Rare and out-of-print
books. Catalogue available.
Box 100, Lake City, Tex.
74109 USA. L174

ANCIENT MODERN AND
MODERN MODERN. A. J. A. Brown.
ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

AFRICAN BOOK CATALOGUE.
Now available from the Travel
Bookshop, 23, Newington Green,
London. W11. 01-525 5900.

BOOKS ON ROYAL FAMILIES.
770 items. Crime Read, London.
ISBN 0 9508350 0 0.

SOCIAL HISTORY. Cambridge.
ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Cambridge University Press. £14.00.

MANUSCRIPTS edited and indexed. Catalogues and lists. Word processing. Microfilm. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Cambridge University Press. £15.50.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH ASSISTANCE. A. J. A. Brown. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

RESEARCH ASSISTANCE. A. J. A. Brown. ISBN 0 9508350 0 0. Bristol Classical Press. £15.50.

TOP CLASS Word Processing at 100% discount. Central Ltd. 01-525 5900.

M.S. TYPING. 100% discount. Central Ltd. 01-525 5900.

© TIMES NEWSPAPERS LIMITED. Published by Times Newspapers Limited, 1, Abchurch Lane, London EC4N 3DF. 01-525 5900.

ADVERTISE ALL
YOUR LIBRARIAN
VACANCIES IN THE
T L S
FOR FURTHER
DETAILS
PLEASE CONTACT:
CHERYL DENNETT
ON
01-253 3000
ext 232

ACROSS
1 The heroine in the scruffy
reincarnation. (8)
6 For starting price initially call
popular author. (6)
9 "Good people's very" (8)
(Dickens). (6)
10 Dineah foolishly made a bed
and married him. (4,4)
11 River Othello made a bound's
hunting ground. (8)
12 Dr Swishell's motto: get lost
(4,2)
13 Change five hundred with
Macbeth's choker. (3)
14 Sonnet as if composer does
what Doy's dog didn't (9)
17 How to dance for death? (9)
19 Revellie sounded for love of
magic. (3)
22 Continue: nursing 'Grecian's
soft spot. (6)
23 Perhaps he was a RN man
from a high living family. (8)
24 Murdered author hymned a
wife. (8)
25 They're crossed with a point
in a common book. (6)
26 Last to the land of Oe - Em-
ily's realm? (6)
27 Most forbidding Yorick. (8)

DOWN
2 "All the host of hell" re-
turned them load. (7)
(Milton). (7)

TLS

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY • 17 DECEMBER 1982 • No 4,159 • 50p

Hugh Kenner on Ellmann's Joyce

The life of Harriet Smithson Berlioz



James Joyce in the late 1930s, photographed by his stepson, David Fleischman: reproduced from the book reviewed on pages 1383-84.

Sexual terms the Romans used
Coleridge's revisions,
Virgil in translation
Commentary: 'Rockaby',
the Keats Lectures
French nobles during the Revolution
Deprivation and the SSRC
Italian fiction: Goffredo Parise, Ferruccio Parazzoli
Aggression in Swat
Oppression in Japan
Robert Conquest: German writers in Soviet exile

TLS subscriptions

The surest, most convenient way to get the TLS each week is to take out a subscription. Our new subscription service now located at the address below will provide all subscribers quickly and regularly with their weekly copy of the paper, which offers an incomparable guide to new and recent books published all over the world. New subscribers are invited to begin here, by filling in the coupon below.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES

The following postal zones are listed for your convenience. If your country is not included, please contact your local postal authority to ascertain your correct zone as specified by the British Post Office.

United Kingdom only by surface mail.

6 months (26 issues) £12.50.

12 months (52 issues) £25.00.

British Postal Zone 'A' including Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.

6 months (26 issues) £23.40.

12 months (52 issues) £46.80.

British Postal Zone 'B' including Argentina, Bermuda, Brazil, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

6 months (26 issues) £26.52.

12 months (52 issues) £53.04.

British Postal Zone 'C' including Australia, China, Japan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Taiwan.

6 months (26 issues) £29.12.

12 months (52 issues) £58.24.

Europe including Cyprus, Gibraltar, Malta.

6 months (26 issues) £20.80.

12 months (52 issues) £41.60.

USA and Canada by air.

6 months (26 issues) US\$35.00.

12 months (52 issues) US\$70.00.

Please send me The Times Literary Supplement

☐ 6 months ☐ 12 months

Please print

NAME

ADDRESS

DATE

Signature

Return this coupon to Times Newspapers Ltd,

Supplements Subscription Manager, Oakfield House,

35 Perry Mount Road, Haywards Heath,

West Sussex RH16 6DH.

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Printed at the Times Building, 1, Abchurch Lane, London EC4M 3DF

DECEMBER 17 1982

Anthropology 1390	History 1388, 1400
Bibliography 1403	Italy 1397
Biography 1383-84, 1395-96	Latin America 1391
Commentary 1392-93	Latin Literature 1386
Drama 1402	Music 1396
English Literature 1389	Poetry 1399
Fiction 1398	Psychology 1387
German Literature 1385	Social Studies 1401

INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED

ADAMS, J. N. <i>The Latin Sexual Vocabulary</i> [Peter Howell]	
BAOURA-SKOUA, EVA, and BRANSCOMBE, PETER (Eds.) <i>Schubert Studies</i> [Wilfrid Mollen]	
BANCE, ALAN <i>Theodor Fontane: The Major Novels</i> [Ghislaine Annan]	
BARNETT, LOUISE K. <i>Swift's Poetic Warh</i> [Julia Briggs]	
BARTHOLOMEUS, DENNIS <i>The Winner's Tale in performance in England and America 1611-1976</i> [Stanley Wells]	
BIRMINGHAM, DAVID <i>Central Africa to 1970: Zulu, Zaire and the South Atlantic</i> [Lucy Mair]	
BOOWN, MUEL, and MANN, NICOLA <i>Despite the Welfare State: A Report on the SSRC/DHSS Programme of Research into Transmitted Deprivation</i> [Rudolf Klein]	
CRIST, TIMOTHY J. (Editor) <i>Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700</i> [compiled by David Wing: Second edition, revised and enlarged, Volume 2, England-Oyle]	
DE SAINT-DENIS, HERVEY <i>Dreary and How to Guide Them</i> [Charles Rycroft]	
DAVO, A. ROSALIE <i>The Ancient Kingdom of Mexico</i> [Clayton Tickell]	
DAVIS, NIGEL <i>The Younger Irish Poets</i> [Patricia Craig]	
DAWE, GERALD (Editor) <i>The Philistines and their Material Culture</i> [Kenneth Kitchen]	
DEBARDI, LUCIO <i>Interventi e relazioni parlamentari: Volume I, Senato del Regno 1919-1922</i> [John Rosenthal]	
DEBARDI, LUCIO <i>Interventi e relazioni parlamentari: Volume II, Senato del Regno 1923-1925</i> [John Rosenthal]	
DELMANN, RICHARD <i>James Joyce: New and Revised Edition</i> [Hugh Kenner]	
DELMANN, RICHARD <i>The History of James Joyce</i> [Adrian Mackinnon]	
FULLER, JIM <i>Writing for the Music</i> [Richard Mackinnon]	
GUNIA <i>Generale degli Archivi di Stato Italiano</i> [S. J. Ward]	
HANE, MITSUKI <i>Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts: The Underworld of Modern Japan</i> [Jon Halliday]	
HATTAWAY, MICHAEL <i>Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance</i> [Stanley Wells]	
HENNING, MIKE, and TURNER, IRYAN S. <i>Confessions: Studies in Performance and Religion</i> [Hilary Handman]	
HONNIGT, PATRICE <i>Class, Ideology, and the Rights of Nobles during the French Revolution</i> [Colin Lucas]	
HOLLINGBURY, ALAN <i>Confidential Chats with Boys</i> [Lachlan Mackinnon]	
HUMPHREYS, R. A. <i>Latin America and the Second World War. Volume Two 1942-1945</i> [Laurence Whitehead]	
IMLAI, MICK <i>The Zingis's Both and other adventures</i> [Lachlan Mackinnon]	
IMMERMAN, RICHARD H. <i>The CIA in Guatemala</i> [Leonard Bushnell]	
JARMAN, M. R., and others (Eds.) <i>Early European Agriculture</i> [G. W. Dimbleby]	
LINDHOLM, CHARLES <i>Generosity and Jealousy: The Story of Northern Pakistan</i> [Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf]	
MAMBER, BILL <i>Good Looks</i> [Fleur Adcock]	
McGUIRE, WILLIAM <i>Bolton: An Adventure in Collecting the Past</i> [Anthony Storr]	
MELVILLE, ARABELLA, and JOHNSON, COLIN <i>Cured to Death: The Effects of Prescription Drugs</i> [Donald Gould]	
MILNE, JEAN-PIERRE <i>Vision and Revision: Coleridge's Art of Imagination</i> [John Beer]	
MILNE, JOHN <i>Tyn</i> [John Melmoth]	
PAOZZOLI, FERRUCCIO <i>Uccelli del paradiso: Romanzo</i> [Anne Casar]	
PARISE, GOFREDO <i>Silobario N.2</i> [Isabel Ogilvy]	
PIKE, DAVID <i>German Writers in Soviet Exile, 1933-1945</i> [Robert Conquest]	
RABY, PETER <i>Fat-Ophelia: A Life of Haydn's Smallest Daughter</i> [Anita Brookner]	
SCHLESINGER, STEPHEN, and KINZIO, STEPHEN <i>Bluer Friar: The Unholy Story of the American Coup in Guatemala</i> [Leonard Bushnell]	
SHOORTH, CAROLYN <i>Heart of the River</i> [Jim Croce]	
SMITH, ROBERT KIMMEL <i>Jim's House</i> [Clair Duchen]	
SMITH, ELIZABETH <i>Casanova's Ankle</i> [Fleur Adcock]	
STERNBERG, DOLF <i>Schriften Volumes 3-6</i> [Daniel Johnson]	
TAYLOR, RONALD <i>Robert Schumann: His Life and Work</i> [April Fritzelmann]	
VERGIL <i>Georgics</i> [Charles Martindale]	
VOLK, THOMAS <i>Thérèse: A Fragment</i> [Nicola Barker]	
WILSON, THOMAS, and WILSON, DOROTHY J. <i>The Political Economy of the Welfare State</i> [Rudolf Klein]	

COMMENTARY

Ballet <i>The Tempest</i> (Royal Opera House) [Julia Croft]	
Opera <i>G. F. Handel: Semle</i> (Royal Opera House) [Michael Tanner]	
Radio <i>The Arts Without Mystery: BBC Radio Lectures 1982</i> (Radio 4) [Blake Morrison]	
Television <i>Nadine Gordimer: Praise</i> (Channel 4) [Peter Kemp]	
Theatre <i>Samuel Beckett: Enough and Rockaby</i> (Cottesloe Theatre) [Horold Hobson]	

Author, Author
Fifty years on
Information, please
Elizabethan Britain (Savkar Alaine)
Poetry by Dick Davis and John Levent
Letters to T. S. Eliot, Alexander Pushkin, Venetia Stanley
Among this week's contributors

The impertinence of being definitive

Hugh Kenner

RICHARD ELLMANN
James Joyce: New and Revised Edition
Oxford University Press. £25.
Pp. 303. ISBN 0 19 280103 2

This is intricate business. A way into it leads past the Irish Fact, definable as anything they tell you in Ireland, where you get told a great deal. Last summer, when James Joyce symposiasts meeting at what had been the old University College classrooms, I amused myself by listening to the fire place might have been beside which Stephen Dedalus had his talk with the Dean of Studies. Why, right over there, was each Irish man's reply, with a gesture towards the fireplace in the room of the moment, a portrait records that it was in the physics theatre. Substantiations will get with ease in Dublin, but the best test is to be wary lest they be Irish.

I commenced to learn this lesson as long ago as three years before Richard Ellmann's *James Joyce* was first published. In 1956 something I had written drew correspondence from a Dubliner who signed himself "W. P. D'Arcy". Embedded in the first of his letters was an arresting phrase: "My father, the late Mr. Bartell D'Arcy", Bartell D'Arcy As Joyce's "The Dead" moves towards its climax we

The voice, made plaintive by distance and by the singer's hoarseness, faintly illuminated the air with words expressing grief: "O, the rain falls on my heavy locks".

"The dew wets my skin, my babe lies cold... O, exclaimed Mary Jane. It's Bartell D'Arcy singing and he wouldn't sing all the night."

So I was in touch with the son of Bartell D'Arcy, whom I hastened to acknowledge the presence of his father in the greatest short story in the English language. His crisp reply was that his father - a man who had sung with Jim Joyce's father on Saturday night - had not been pleased at all. For why he wouldn't sing all the night of the story, Joyce has him saying "Can't you see that I'm as loose as a can"? moreover saying it "roughly".

So it was none of it true. He immediately went round to his father. It was when the solicitor told him he had no case that D'Arcy Sr took

to narrating, again and again and at length, the real events of that fabled Christmas party. He'd drink while he talked, which may have been what ended him.

There's an interesting premise here, which pursuers of Joyce's shade will meet often. In Dublin writing has a special and precarious status, no allowances being granted for "imaginative" genres. They are apt to test the penman for not meeting his chief obligation, which is to put down events the way other people remember them. Thus in his 1953 memoir, *Slender Years*, J. F. Byrne was cross about a *Ulysses* that situates Bloom's missing latchkey "in the pocket of the trousers he had worn on the day but one preceding". Since, so Byrne tells us, it was Byrne's misadventure with a key Joyce built this on, the sentence is nonsense because on the day preceding the misadventure he - Byrne - was using his key, and never mind about Bloom.

The solicitor was another interesting touch. (The English love a lord, the Irish a lawyer.) In another letter Mr D'Arcy was persuasive about the commencement of Joyce's lifelong exile only after his books started to be published. For had he once set foot on the green sod, people he had mentioned by name in print would have detained him in court-rooms until doomsday, demanding redress over points of detail. There were more such people than anybody guessed. When the BBC heard from "Reuben J. Dodd Jr" after broadcasting some pages of *Ulysses* they thought it was a joke, and at heavy cost discovered it was not.

So fortune seemed to have put me to touch with an orator, and my first visit to Dublin (November, 1956) included a rendezvous with Mr W. P. D'Arcy. We met at dusk and tramped Grafton Street while he discoursed. He was soon elucidating something I had written in 1906 to his brother Stannie. Jim had been planning a new *Dubliners* story, about "Mr Hunter", someone Stannie would know: a story to be called "Ulysses". So who was Hunter? Herbert Gorman in his 1939 biography of Joyce had doubted if we'd ever know.

"Hunter", Mr D'Arcy stated, "was his name, or rather it was not his name. If you follow me, I did not follow him, only he drew together his cheeks to expel the oldclunclun, 'Jow'. Hunter's wife, everyone knew about his wife, and about the men who attended, and more than entertained, and

Hunter knew about them too but was unable to control her. She was part-Spanish, and she sang. The singing was a handy pretext, what with the travelling.

Molly Bloom, you are thinking. Yes. "Her special man, the one who organized her tours and more than her tours, the one Joyce called Boylan, was a man named Creech. He worked in the post office with my father. And to help you with him I have brought along a photograph." In the sepia rectangle he then produced, the purported Creech/Boylan, mustachioed, stared at a lens, hence at us, over (I seem to remember) folded arms. If this was "Blazes Boylan" he looked like what he had become, a man in a photograph made about 1900.

"I was present one day when Hunter was walking along this very path" - by now we had crossed to Stephen's leafless green - "and from around the bushes came Creech. They drew face to face. And I heard myself Hunter's very words to Creech."

Note "I heard myself", moreover on this very spot. Those are formulae to beware of, notwithstanding that the son of "Bartell D'Arcy" was narrating how "Bloom" confronted "Blazes Boylan": an event outside the scope of *Ulysses* itself, truly something to have come to Ireland to hear. He was facing me to make sure I heard it, and his voice dropped to a stage-whisper: "You and your fuckin' concert tours!" A high-pitched laugh, and he savoured the line once. "You and your fuckin' concert-tours!"

Of the Irish Facts in this kaleidoscope, some at least appear to be reliable. Thus when Ellmann Mark I appeared three years later, you could read what Stannie, by then himself an old man, remembered of Mr Hunter: "a dark-complexioned Dublin Jew... who was rumoured to be a cuckold." Professor Ellmann had a different original entirely for "Bartell D'Arcy", on he did not say whose information, and he listed several for Boylan, none of them called Creech, which is only to say that his researches led him through a different array of Irish Facts entirely.

As for Hunter's wife being part-Spanish, I could have been hearing about the factual nudge that gave Joyce's Molly Bloom her Spanish mother, or else Joyce's book could have been nudging my man towards a little one-sided creativity.

As for the concert tours and their

epithet: here a 1904 memory seems far less likely than a 1956 improvisation. meant to clinch to my satisfaction ("on this very spot") Bloom's equivalence with Hunter. Boylan's with Creech. For what happened in Stephen's Green that November dusk in 1956 was, like many such Dublin happenings, an inextricable mixture of reminiscence and performance.

Though of Dubliners who had known Joyce the only one I met was Mr D'Arcy, the city at that time still continued numbers of them. Had I been contemplating a biography, as I was not, I should have had to sift dozens of such performances for what substance they might contain. The copious Ellmann notes cite many as "interview", but in time one learns caution, great caution, and trusts he was cautious too.

One's natural question, turning through Ellmann Mark II, is what Joyce's biographer has learned in a quarter-century. The answer reduces to this, that his files have grown ampler. We now know, for instance, Joyce's height - nearly 5' 11", as measured (p. 212) by his brother in 1907; not a trivial datum, since the "tail" of report is apt to reflect psychic stature. (Ezra Pound, for instance, got routinely described as tall, though he wasn't.) What was best about Mark I is now still better, notably the establishment of a firm grid of dates, events, addresses. No one who remembers how futile was recourse to the Gorman book for even simple chronology will underrate that accomplishment. Many details in the grid have been refined. Thus the book now (correctly) has Joyce born in Rathgar, not Rathmines - that got fixed, indeed, in Mark I's second printing - and baptized in St Joseph's Chapel of Ease, Roundtown. Instead of in a church that had not been built in 1882.

Many more details have been added, and what they are added to can repay inspection. Thus to the discussion (p. 246) of "Bartell D'Arcy" we find a new footnote appended: "A friend of Joyce's father, P. J. D'Arcy, an overseer of the General Post Office, sang sometimes under the name of Bartholomew D'Arcy, and may have contributed to the character." (The source is "Letter to me from his son, W. P. D'Arcy.") Alas, scrutiny of that in menning yields only blur, so little "character" was there to contribute to "Bartell D'Arcy" in "The Dead" is a walk-on part, a narrative contrivance

to get a song sung: no more than a name, a tenor voice, and a brusqueness. Dublin abounds in voices, and anyone can be brusque. What there was for P. J. D'Arcy to contribute was simply the name.

Yet Ellmann's "may have contributed" sticks to his Mark I assertion that there was a more central contributor. The Mark I sentences are still present, and they run:

Bartell D'Arcy [sic], the hoarse singer in the story, was based upon Barton M'Guckin, the leading tenor in the Cail Rosa Opera Company. There were other tenors, such as John McCormack, whom Joyce might have used, but he needed one who was unsuccessful and uneasy about himself; and his father's off-lod anecdote about M'Guckin's lack of confidence furnished him with just such a singer as he intended Bartell D'Arcy to be.

His father's often-told anecdote? Here a note directs us to p. 14 (though that pertains to the old edition and should have been amended to pp. 15-16). There we find a story in which I discern no trace of "M'Guckin's lack of confidence", only a handsome compliment he's said to have paid to a young singer, Joyce's father. (If you praise a comer, does that connote lack of confidence? These values are scrutinizable.) On Ellmann's pages the story is told as (we are assured) Joyce's father "told and retold" it, in rich Dublin idiom. Was a tape recorder present? Where did the biographer get it? The apposite note (p. 74) still says, "Interview with Mr John Stanislaus Joyce, in Maria Jolas, ed. *A James Joyce Yearbook* (Paris, 1949)."

By now I seem to be picking notes from a tangle of wool, half-doubting if the result is worth the labour. Bear with me. "Interview with Mr John Stanislaus Joyce": that has become a minor *pois astorum*. "The authenticity of this interview has been questioned", as the fine print rightly says: "A Dublin writer (Brian O'Nolan) is said to claim he invented it."

So he did; he is better known as "Flann O'Brien", author of *The Third Policeman* and *At Swim-Two-Birds*, and when he was alive he'd double up with laughter when mention of that "interview" lot him boast of how he'd hoodwinked the professors. (I never met him; my authority is Howard's Professor John V. Kelleher, who heard the claim made.) Mme Jolas has told

IDEAS FOR LAST-MINUTE CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

New in paperback

English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980

MARTIN J. WIENER

No-one who is worried about Britain's industrial future can be unimpressed by Professor Wiener's analysis.

Featured in Granada TV's "World in Action: The Betrayal of British Industry"

Anthony Sampson, The Observer

Paperback £4.95 net

The Cambridge Encyclopedia

of China

General Editor: BRIAN HOOK

Provides by far the broadest and most illuminating picture of China

any book currently in print

Attractively enough got up to make a good present.

The Daily Telegraph

£18.50 net

A History of Chinese Civilization

JACQUES GARNET

Translated by J. R. FOSTER

Garnet has accomplished with skill and vision one of

scholarship's most daunting tasks

The Times Higher Education Supplement

One could have only one book on China's history, this would be

the one.

ALA Booklist

£28.00 net

The Cambridge Photographic Atlas of the Planets

G. A. BRIGGS and F. W. TAYLOR

This impressive new photographic atlas of our planetary system contains over 200 photographs, many of which are in full colour. It constitutes the best collection of photographs of the planets that have been obtained from space in recent years and includes Voyager 2 pictures of Saturn.

£12.50 net

Green Planet

The Story of Plant Life on Earth

Edited by DAVID M. MOORE

Despite the great popular interest in ecology there has been no accessible and authoritative general reference work published on the subject. *Green Planet* is a compactly illustrated, large-format encyclopedia which fills this gap. Professor Moore describes the development of plant ecology and plant geography, and reviews and assesses the interrelationship between Man and the world of plants.

£12.50 net

The Dawn of European Art

An Introduction to Palaeolithic Cave Painting

ANDRÉ LEROI-GOURHAN

Translated by SARA CHAMPION

The palaeolithic cave paintings of western Europe represent a major source for the understanding of the origins of art and belief in mankind. This new book explores the nature, a structure and role of the art and fully illustrates - with many colour plates - the techniques of the artists and the form of their figures.

£8.95 net

The Imprint of Man

Plants of the Bible

MICHAEL ZOHARY

A comprehensive and authoritative guide to all the plants in the Bible. Illustrated with 196 superb colour photographs, and written by a botanist of international reputation, this is a beautiful book as well as a mine of information. It will be appreciated by Bible-readers and nature-lovers alike.

£9.50 net

Fair Ophelia

Harriet Smithson Berlioz

All who love Berlioz and the Romantic revolution have known about "the divine Ophelia" and her sad end. But what was Miss Smithson like before her star-crossed union with Berlioz? This beautifully-produced and illustrated study does justice to a haunting presence.

George Steiner, The Sunday Times

£12.95 net

Igor Stravinsky: The Rake's Progress

PAUL GRIFFITHS

"Far more than the usual run (through for the casual listener, with its detailed account of the work's conception and development): a synopsis which brings in the musical structure... and several detailed chapters." Edward Greenfield, The Guardian

Hard covers £9.95 net

Paperback £8.95 net

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Tossing the dung about

Charles Martindale

VIRGIL

The Georgics
Translated by Roben Wells
95pp. Carcanet. £5.95.
0 85635 3388

The Georgics
Translated by L. P. Wilkinson
160pp. Penguin Classics. £1.75.
0 14044 414 9

"The best poem of the best poet", thought Dryden, whose judgments in such matters are seldom to be despised; and the eighteenth century certainly took it to its bosom. Many since have regarded the Virgil of the Georgics as a kind of honorary Englishman, and assimilated the work to a native tradition of nature poetry that is always honest, if sometimes drab. The truth is otherwise – the Georgics is *inter alia* an astonishingly technical and stylistic tour de force, and variety is definitely the thing: from the faux-naïf Hesiodic precepts, to the baroque flamboyance of the poet's picture of himself as *triumphator*; from the delicate approach to a mock-heroic mode for the description of the bees that is by turns patronizing, whimsical and wistful, to the plangency of the Orpheus story. Virgil has too a Hopkins-like feeling for "inscape": he can make the reader feel the texture of soil with an intensity that reduces to triviality Addison's too often quoted remark that he "tosses the dung about with an air of gracefulness".

Here are two new essays in the difficult (one is tempted to say impossible) art of translating Virgil, both with solid merits, both employing a five stress line, the first from a poet, the second from a distinguished scholar who is the author of the standard study of the Georgics in English. A fully adequate translation must convey much more than a love of nature, and in this respect the version by Robert Wells, with its rather too grey uniformity of texture, must be accounted a fairly honourable defeat. Dryden is often more alert than his successors to shifts in tone. When Virgil describes bees wetted, he uses the witty mock-heroic metonymy "Neptune" for the water. Dryden, while hardly translating, offers us something at least equivalent: "When

late returning home, the laden host / By raging winds is wrecked upon the coast." Wells has, prosily, "when a shower gust has snatched their flight / Or a sudden cloudburst drenched and beaten them down." (Wilkinson's "duck them in the deep", if rather halfhearted, is on the right lines – of course English can accommodate the figure, witness Shakespeare's "the ebbing Neptune"; in Wells, the process of seeping the poem of essential vitality begins at once. "Quid faciat *laetis* segetes?" ("What makes the cornfields happy?", C. Day Lewis) becomes, flatly, "What livens the fields?" The familiar unswerving commitment to contemporary translators, can become hardly less disabling than an eighteenth-century penchant for Miltonizing and stale poetic diction. Still Wells, who has himself worked on farms in England and Italy, cares for his Virgil, as is shown by the suggestive and eloquent introduction – ironically his prose is more unbuttoned than his poetry, more ready to attempt a flight. Within its chosen limits the verse is finely wrought, chaste and admirably crafted, and it seldom offends as English. The following is representative:

Sea-birds and marsh-birds that flock in the
Asian meadow
Picking about the pools of Cystis for food
Dabble their feathers, liss spray over their
backs,
Or dash their heads in water and run at the
waves.

Giving themselves to aimless joy as they
bathe.

Following Dryden's principle of compensation for the inevitable deficiencies of translation Wells adds the odd felicitous touch not in the Latin, for example the stag "bulky in his grace" (for "ingentem"). Also like Dryden he will sometimes dare to enrich his English with a Latinism, letting the original dictate the form of the translation, metaphorically to the beechtree's shade. Sometimes he can strike a false note, as in an excellent passage, charged with the healing changes which time brings, Virgil imagines the day when the rountrymen will dig up rusty weapons and giant bones left from the battles of the Civil War. Virgil's farmer will wonder ("mirabitur"), but Wells's will "gape", yuck-like, as the modern poet sublimely spurns sublimity (Wilkinson makes the same misjudgment).

On other occasions the failure to translate accurately irritates. The removal of the third "Eurydice" from the thrice-repeated call of Orpheus floating head (a passage movingly evoked by Dante at the moment of the loss of Virgil himself in *Purgatorio*) is culpable, particularly if it results, as I suspect it does, from a deliberate refusal of rhetoric in the manner of C. H. Sisson. The pathos disappears from the passage in Book 2 where the farmer clears the woods, destroying the "ancient" homes of birds, since "antiquus" is not translated. The ambiguity of Eurydice's dying words – is she blaming her husband? – is removed in favour of clear condemnation of Orpheus' weakness. Wilkinson, who avoids the other mistakes, is no better here: his Eurydice seems to have strayed out of a second-rate novel ("Orpheus", she cried, "we are ruined, you and I!").

The frontispiece to a late manuscript of the Georgics (Holikham MS 311) makes an effective cover for the Penguin translation; it shows peasants engaged with remarkable vigour in a wide range of agricultural tasks. Such a stress on work, its processes, its results, its hardships, animates the Georgics, and this makes me uneasy with Wilkinson's view that it should be regarded primarily as a "descriptive" poem, the equivalent (as it is the forerunner) of Thomson's *Seasons*. It may be that here lies a partial explanation for the fact that Wilkinson does not always get to grips with the individual words and with the text's poetic energies, offering us something flatter, more generalized and "pictorial". Certainly, like most other translators, he often normalizes stylistic quiddities (thus "rorem amarum", literally "bitter dew", becomes "salt spray", "acutus mortalia corda" becomes "sharpening the wits of mortals"). In the main he keeps closer to the Latin than Wells. He sometimes tries to match local poetic effects, for example alliteration (the roven "stulca" the shore in solitary state) or onomatopoeia ("horreus sonantibus").

With flashing brand the mountains,
Athos or Rhodope or high Ceraunus,
Shakes.

At times I wished he had been more literal still; he fails to reproduce the



A wild figure, clad in leaves and a crown of ferns, riding a unicorn. The fifteenth-century drawing is taken from Nancy Hillaway's *sumphously illustrated The Unicorn* (191pp. Penguin. £5.95. 0 1400 6328 5). The rich and varied mythological tradition surrounding the unicorn is reflected in the wealth of pictures depicting this strange, magical creature.

clash of adjectives in the famous line in which Virgil adopts first a swallow's eye and then a bee's-eye view – swallows bring bees as "sweet (dulcem) food for their ungentle (imilibus) young" – which he renders "til-bits for their cruelly gorging nestlings". Certainly this version reflects the general improvement in translation practice since the time when what has been termed "the uncouth chit-chat" of Rieu's Homer was so widely admired and imitated, but some traces of the bad old manner persist (for example "fancy myths", "let no wisecrack", "induce you", and a number of unfortunate phrases about the bees – "gadding about", "that pack of shirkers", "make a beeline", "all are reminiscent of a searx Potter" – provides the reader with much needed help in the form of an extended introduction, short introductions to the individual books, notes and bibliography (there are also line numbers not included in Wells), and his version will clearly be widely used for classical civilization courses and the like. But, despite the brave effort and

some good lines, I am left with sympathy for Dryden's view that only poets can adequately translate poetry (though of course some, like Gollub, are only discovered to be poets when they translate). Furthermore the volume is rather hard on the eyes as a result of the unusually small print and crowded pages.

Some, then, will prefer Wells for the real if sober pleasures he affords. Generally he is more successful than Wilkinson in creating and sustaining a convincing level of style. But by Lewis perhaps remains the safest guide; in his popular version, curiously recommended by T. S. Eliot above the original, published as the *Litvick* edition over England, Lewis recovered a sense of his own land and people, a labour of love, in which, as he says, "the time and the place and the loved one" came together. Wells complains that he does not have what Dryden had, a language that allows him to be splendid, but it is only when most of our poets can regain the splendour that is a part of the heritage of English verse that we shall get the translations of the classics which we so sorely need.

Mea culpa

Barbara Goodwin

MIKE HEPPWORTH and BRYAN S. TURNER
Confession: Studies in Deviance and Religion
200pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £5.95.
0 7100 9198 2

While visiting a prison camp, Himmeler (or was it Stalin?) found that he had lost his pipe. A search ensued but, on returning to his car, he discovered it on the seat. "But sir", protested the commandant, "six prisoners have already confessed to stealing it." The joke travesties the normal process of truthful confession but emphasizes, as do Mike Heppworth and Bryan S. Turner, the relation of confession to authority. They are concerned with the "cover-up" between individual conscience and social control, and with how confession legitimizes social norms and authority. This approach places class and power relations in sharp focus, but leaves out of account important wider questions.

The authors define confession as a private act of self-accusation, made to someone in authority, with public consequences. They stress the remedial, restorative effect of religious and criminal confession, often ignored by those who treat the law merely as a process for excluding deviants. Essentially, the confessant explains his actions in ethical terms and shows himself to be a contrite member of the community like prodigal sons, the thieves are forgiven, the offenders rehabilitated.

The theorists who deal with confession (Weber, various functionalists, Foucault) fail to reconcile the exclusive and inclusive aspects of confession. Heppworth and Turner argue that coercive and therapeutic accounts are compatible and must be taken together. They qualify Foucault's view that "legal discourse" serves those in power by suggesting that the practice of religious confession first developed to control ruling knights and robber barons. The ruling class is, paradoxically,

constrained by its own coercive devices.

The book combines a history of the Catholic confessional (and its replacement for Protestant middle classes by psychoanalysis) with a study of murder confessions. Three chapters appeared previously as articles, which may explain the book's discontinuities and repetition. One confession appears twice, as does the description of the confession of a surprise, where a portrait of Christ was transformed into the Devil by light and sound effects. The "Confession in popular literature" chapter is an entertaining evocation of our abiding prurience concerning bloody murders. Even the detective story is viewed as "an extended confession".

This characterization indicates a general problem. The term "confession" is used here loosely, and seems to encompass even routine guilty pleas. The importance of criminal confession is overstated and the confession-centred approach sometimes distorts the interpretation of relevant material. For example, Meusault in *L'Étranger* is surely abhorrent not because "he is not motivated to confess" (he admits the murder) but because he expresses no emotion. And the moral of *Caleb Williams* is not that Falkland eventually confesses to a murder committed years previously but, given Godwin's concept of the self as ever-changing, the injustice of retrospective judicial revenge.

The authors stress the contrast between the religious basis of confession, which emphasizes *liber*, moral and spontaneous nature, and modern forensic practice, which aims to simplify the prosecution's task by procuring admissions of guilt, often by questionable means. This suggests the need for careful scrutiny of the new Police Bill's provisions on confession.

The book's main virtue is that it reveals the uniqueness of confession in Western society. Other societies ritually purge collective pollution, other monotheistic religions have ceremonies of atonement, but Christianity has propagated a special, individualistic conception of confession as a result of the doctrine of free will and responsibility, a conception which fashions both our religious and

our legal institutions. It is from this perspective that the false confessions extorted by totalitarian regimes to buttress their authority seem so reprehensible.

Confessional practice develops its own momentum and the free, moral elements are often absent (the criminal trades confession for leniency; the nine-year-old, desperate to please the priest, confesses adultery) but the moral basis survives. The authors explore the public-private tensions in confession but not in morality. Without a moral authority, the guilt which provokes confession would not be generated. According to Freud, this is true even within the individual – hence the superego. Confession is a symptom: a further analysis is needed of the ideological and structural causes of morality itself.

Villon, Rousseau, the secret diaries of sex maniacs, the published memoirs of politicians, the confessions of window-cleaners – our culture boasts a long tradition of confession. Most of us habitually make quasi-moral confessions to confidants, lovers, strangers. The authors deliberately avoid such non-institutional confessions from consideration or psychologization, generalization or trivialization. But there is a general and socially significant dimension to confession. Ours is an articulate, differentiated, individualistic culture, one in which we expose the precious inner self and render our private knowledge public at will, by means of language. The ability and need to communicate unique personal experience is deeply rooted in Western culture and empiricist philosophy and is made use of – incidentally – by inquisitive or inquisitorial authorities.

By focusing on ritual confession as a control device and the special case of murderers, Heppworth and Turner neglect confession as a normal form of communication, integral to an individualistic culture. Cultivated self-consciousness and self-revelation are Sigmund Freud's terms, as Heppworth and Turner admit, the real puzzle is not why people confess but why everyone ever remains silent. A study of confession in its broadest sense as a cultural and linguistic practice would make a useful companion volume to their fascinating but specialized study.

Collectively conscious

Anthony Storr

WILLIAM MCGUIRE

Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past
361pp Guildford: Princeton University Press. £13.90.
0 691 09951 0

The Bollingen Series of books, comprising nearly 300 elegantly produced volumes, is a remarkable example of private munificence subserving scholarly purposes. William McGuire, who is probably best known for his editing of the Freud/Jung letters, and for his joint editing of Jung's *Collected Works*, has been associated with Bollingen since 1948. Because of the large number of interesting and original people involved in it, this account of the Bollingen enterprise will prove a valuable source-book for scholars studying the intellectual history of the twentieth century.

The name "Bollingen" takes origin from C. G. Jung's rural retreat on the Lake of Zurich. Jung bought the land in 1922, and, partly with his own hands, built a house consisting of two towers, a loggia, and an annex. Here, without either electricity or the telephone, Jung communed with nature and with his own soul, and only the chosen few were allowed to visit him there. Among them were the American millionaire Paul Mellon and his wife Mary. The Mellons had married in 1935. Soon afterwards, both embarked upon Jungian analysis in New York. In 1938, the Mellon family travelled to Zurich to sit at the feet of the master, and become deeply involved in Jungian circles. Later, both had some analysis from Jung himself. By the beginning of the Second World War, Mary Mellon had planned to start a publishing programme, subsidized by herself, of which Jung's *Collected Works* would form the central core. This was the inception of the Bollingen Series.

In 1942, the Bollingen Foundation was set up in New York with Mary Mellon as president. The editorial board included such distinguished scholars as Edgar Wind, the art historian, and Heinrich Zimmern, who was married to the

daughter of Hugo von Hoffmannsthal. In conjunction with Pantheon, a press started by the famous refugee publisher Kurt Wolff, the first of the Bollingen Series was published in 1943: a study of a Navaho war ceremonial entitled *When the Two Came to their Father*, by Maud Oakes in conjunction with Jeff King and Joseph Campbell. The last-named was to become well-known for his *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, published in 1949, and one of the best-sellers in the Bollingen Series.

The original idea of the Bollingen Series was to publish original works on art, anthropology, myth, ritual and comparative religion, which would amplify and illustrate Jung's concept of the collective unconscious. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* is an example of the genre, since it demonstrates the fact that hero myths having many features in common can be found in cultures so disparate in time and place that mutual influence is improbable. Fortunately, the Bollingen net was cast more widely, so that McGuire declares that "the Jungian content of it is about a third". The Foundation particularly aimed at publishing the work of scholars which was too specialized, and of too limited general appeal, to attract a commercial publisher. One splendid example is the two-volume *Sound and Symbol* by the Viennese musicologist Victor Zuckerkandl. It is sad to record that Mary Mellon died prematurely, of asthma and heart failure, at the age of only forty-two, and therefore witnessed only the beginning of the fulfilment of her vision.

The Bollingen Foundation not only published books, but also subsidized scholars with fellowships which might last for years, and which provided not only subsistence, but money for travel, research, and secretarial help. Between 1945 and 1963 Mellon gave the Foundation over \$16,500,000. A high proportion of the scholars who were given help were refugees from Nazi Germany, though there were many others as well. It was Herbert Read who recommended Kathleen Cornblum to Bollingen and thus made possible the publication, in five two-part volumes, of *The Notebook for Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Another fruitful venture was the publication of the annual *A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, which include such famous books as Kenneth Clark's *The Nude*, Kathleen Raine's *Blake and Tradition*, and a whole galaxy of famous outprints from Stephen Spender to Jacques Maritain, from Mario Praz to Isidor Berlin. The most successful of this series was Ernst Gombrich's *Art and Illusion*. But why does McGuire think that Gombrich's book is "scarcely known at all"? to readers of Jung and Campbell? I am surely not alone among readers of Jung in having found Gombrich a wonderfully illuminating and enthralling exponent of the visual arts, and *Art and Illusion* is the book of his to which I return most often.

As William McGuire was involved with the Bollingen series for so many years, and still continues to work for the Princeton University Press (although his retirement is threatened), his reminiscences of the authors with whom he worked are illuminating. Jung, for example, not only cultivated millionaires like the Duke of Devonshire and Bowler McCalmick, but also gave a hard bargain with publishers. For the *Collected Works*, Jung demanded a royalty of 15 per cent on the first 5,000 copies, and 20 per cent thereafter. He was also suspicious and touchy when his works did not appear as quickly as he would have liked, and accused his publishers of the virtual suppression of his work. Among the prizes awarded by the Bollingen Foundation was one for poetry. In 1949 this was awarded to Ezra Pound, who, incarcerated in St. Elizabeth's mental hospital, predictably, this caused a storm in the press, but the choice was also recognized as attesting the Foundation's political neutrality.

William McGuire's book is not only interesting in itself, but also brings to light an acceptable face of capitalism. The Mellons' support of the Bollingen Series and of many scholars was a creative use of private wealth which today is becoming more and more difficult to emulate.

Finding a word for it

Peter Howell

J. N. ADAMS
The Latin Sexual Vocabulary
272pp. Duckworth. £24.
0 7156 1648 X

The Department of Classics at Manchester University has made a name for itself in recent years for its single-minded devotion to obscenity, and more particularly to problems in Greek and Latin sexual vocabulary. Many articles have appeared, but only J. N. Adams has produced a substantial book, which incorporates the substance of his own articles, and acknowledges the work of his colleagues. The publisher has indulged in a school-boy joke in this blurb – "This is a fundamental book in every sense" – but the author never permits himself a smile, keeping a commandable straight face even when interpreting a corrupt fragment thus: "The speaker may have retired behind a bush to relieve himself; and found that he had suffered *pedicatio* (buggery) from the bush". Or when including in the chapter on "The Vocabulary Relating to Sexual Acts" the following section: "(xviii) Some miscellaneous concomitant events: the bed night, *claque*; Catullus 6.11f. Ovid *Met.* 2.14.26–Jov. 6.21f. 9.77f. *Apul. Met.* 2.7".

The book is hardly suited (or intended) for continuous reading, and will be mainly useful as a reference work – a task for which its full indexes fit it admirably. As such, it will be invaluable, not only to scholars, but

also no doubt to students frustrated, for example, by Lewis and Short's explanation of *pedicare* as "to practice unnatural vice", but here enlightened by the familiar word "bugger".

Adams claims to have "tried to keep the book free from fanciful speculation, since I have no sympathy with the current mania for discovering obscene double entendres in unlikely places", but he has not entirely succeeded: it is hardly likely that one of the laxative maxims in the *Baths of the Seven Sages* at Ostia should have an obscene significance, when the others clearly refer only to bowel movements. The severe tone of this quotation is typical of the author's, for example, of Henderson: "The *Maculae*, *Maculae* in *Anticorinth* were used to refer to the fact that a whole page to a stern refutation of Judith P. Hallett's etymology of *mesarcha*".

Adams employs a less severe tone, but on equally critical approach, in refuting some of the ideas of his Head of Department, D. Jocelyn, such as his entertainingly deft notion that in an epigram of Martial (1.46) on the subject of a homosexual encounter the boy's remark, "propero", means, not "I am in a hurry to come to a climax", but "I am in a hurry to do something else".

One double entendre with which Adams will have no truck (though it is hardly to be called a product of a "current mania", as it goes back to Pollux in the fifth century) is the identification in the *passer* ("sparrow" or – according to D. Arrey Thompson – "blue rock-thrush") belonging to

two famous poems, with Catullus 36. Jocelyn may say, it is at the least highly probable that Martial took it so, for, of the four epigrams in which he refers to it, three give it a sexual point.

It, three epigrams in which he refers to it, three give it a sexual point. Martial says that if a youthful wicker-woman gives him kisses like those of Catullus (ie, thousands) he will give him *Caesar's passer*. The boy would hardly be very pleased or interested to receive a poem: Martial is really going to "give him his penis", although there is no doubt a play on the fact that men often gave boys pet birds as rewards for such services.

Adams is a commendable passion for clarity, which is often frustrated by the nature of his material. "Almost any object or practice can acquire a sexual symbolism in a suggestive context"; "it is doubtful whether consciously consider the precise euphemisms which they might use for anal"; "He expects others to share his passion: on p183 two commentators on Book I of Martial are rebuked for not making it clear what secondary sense they see in the word *nito* at 66.7". As the reviewer was one of them he can declare that he at least did not do so because it seemed quite superfluous. Adams is anxious to establish the tone of each word: so, for example, "At colloquialism of educated speech: *virgulae* (for the female genitalia) could be classified as hyper-euphemistic in that it is based on a refusal by the user to contemplate that

the sexual parts might have been used for sexual purposes".

A few individual points may be mentioned. The word *verpa* ("a vox propria for the penis", or more precisely "a menudum with foreskin drawn back as a result of erection, or, perhaps, excessive sexual activity", or, in the case of Jews, circumcision) is, as a surprising, and surely unconscious, resonance in English poetry. "He took his vial sword in hand: Long time the manxome foe he sought. . . One, two, one, two, And through and through the vial blade went snicker-snack!" In the modern world, writes Adams, "the gap has replaced the sword as a sexual symbol", but the world of Jabberwocky was not the modern one. Sometimes Adams reveals a strange attitude towards the ways in which a people might speak: in discussing a passage of Petronius (57.8), in which *man* is abused as *vasus felleis*, *immo foris in oque* ("an earthenware vessel, or rather a thing in water"), he suggests that "the speaker may have identified the referent (*pro pro toto*) with a menudum *longula* after fashioning a *menula rigida* in *vasus felleis*". This is most unlikely: a more plausible interpretation would be to understand *vasus felleis* as meaning a *manula*, or vessel for urine of the "hospital bottle" type, an insult used elsewhere in Petronius, with obvious appropriateness, for an unfaithful wife, but here used (equally aptly) to suggest homosexual passivity.

In his discussion of Catullus 36 Adams's etymology is less reliable than his etymology: "Catullus had caught a youth masturbating. The opportunity

for *pedicatio* was conveniently presented, but there was an attempt of punishment in the act". Even supposing that a Roman of Catullus' time might have found it sexually reprehensible for a boy to masturbate (which is at least arguable), it would certainly not have been thought morally acceptable for a man to bugger a boy, so that it would have been a bizarre form of "punishment". Catullus simply offers a comic scene, without moral overtones.

"One of the oddities of Latin is the possession of a word (*trium*) which means 'put in the toilet' (as Adams points out that "linguists regard a word meaning the same as *pedico* (it *trium*), also that 'it was a standard joke to speak of *trium* as a means of silencing someone', but that 'speakers do not take *trium* seriously'. In fact, of course, of all sexual acts this must be the one least easy to force on an unwilling victim (especially if still possessing teeth). One is reminded of a controversial law case in which a woman convinced a jury, but not all interested observers, that she had been forced to fellate a man. The Latin word must have owed its existence to the Roman conviction that the passive role in such activity was deeply humiliating, being, as Adams demonstrated, that the word *trium* is hardly used except in the context of insult."

The book is clearly and accurately printed. Errors such as the garbling of a quotation from Maximianus on p57 are happily rare.

Twilight states

Charles Rycroft

HERVEY DE SAINT-DENYS
Dreams and How to Guide Them
Translated by Nicholas Fry. Edited with an Introduction by Morton Schatzman.
168pp. Duckworth. £9.95.
0 7156 1584 1

Marc Jean Léon Hervey, Baron de Saint-Denis (1822–1892) – usually known as Hervey de Saint-Denis – was a French Orientalist and man of letters. He taught Chinese and Tartar-Manchu at the Collège de France, translated Chinese and Spanish plays into French, and in 1867 published a monograph on *Les Rêves* (The Dreams), which was the first French work to be made in English.

According to Freud, who mentions Hervey in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Hervey de Saint-Denis was "the most energetic opponent of those who seek to depreciate psychological facts in dreams", but in fact Hervey only knew of Saint-Denis's book of a copy of *Les Rêves*. Readers of the present volume will do better than to rely on the original book, which is almost entirely irrelevant to the very different *psychologie et psychologie* (1885), that Saint-Denis was more interested in the present reviewer is: therefore, in no position – and under no obligation – to assess Saint-Denis's

role and significance in mid-Victorian, pre-Freudian debates on the nature and function of dreams. As edited and put by Dr Schatzman, *Dreams and How to Guide Them* can only be read as a personal document recording St Denis's dreams and his experiments on dreaming. This makes for easy reading, but it also makes him appear to be more of an aristocratic dilettante and less of a learned scholar than he probably was.

Hervey de Saint-Denis became fascinated by his dreams when he was thirteen, and throughout his adolescence he kept an illustrated diary of them, which eventually contained records and pictures covering a period of 1,946 nights. On the strength of this research he became convinced that "there can be no sleep without dreams, any more than there can be waking consciousness without thoughts", that with "practice" all dreams can be remembered, that it is possible to know that one is dreaming while one is dreaming, and that it is possible to guide dreams. By guiding dreams, Saint-Denis seems to have meant that one can alter their course by an act of will, not that one can initiate them or make them up.

As an adult, Saint-Denis continued to record his dreams immediately after waking and conducted numerous experiments, some of which make him sound like a cross between Francis Galton and Horace de Vere Cole. In order to discover what effect music could have on dreams, he arranged with the leader of a fashionable orchestra that throughout one Paris season he (Saint-Denis) would be dancing with one particularly agreeable lady whenever, one particularly original waltz was being played, and he was dancing with another

one particularly original waltz was being played. "The invariable coincidence I had thus created did not pass unnoticed by those who involuntarily shared my experiences" but "this could not stop me". He then ordered a musical-box which played these two original waltzes, attached it to an alarm-clock, and discovered that each waltz played to him in his sleep did indeed evoke images of his associated lady. However, the lady the tune reminded me of was not invariably seen at a dance, nor ever dressed for dancing. Further experiments with musical boxes convinced Saint-Denis that when asleep he could only distinguish between eight different tunes and ladies. "I had to stop, recognizing once more that the human constitution has limitations."

Saint-Denis seems to have been well aware that his experiments with dreams might be deemed frivolous and trivial – he reports that his experiments with waltzes provoked protests and jokes – but he gave five reasons for believing that, on the contrary, they were serious contributions to the progress of science. First, he argued, the fact that one can be aware that one is dreaming while one is dreaming is evidence that dreams are psychological and physiological events. Secondly, the fact that by acts of will one can alter the course of dreams is evidence of the reality of Free Will. Thirdly, the ability to guide dreams could be exploited medically in the treatment of nightmares, anxiety dreams, and nocturnal emissions (which Saint-Denis calls "unfortunate incidents"). Fourthly, the capacity to be lucidly aware that one is dreaming makes it possible to do introspective research on such matters as the laws of association of ideas and the

relationships between ideas, imagery and memories. And fifthly, and rather curiously, research into dreaming exposes the falsity of "the eternal comparison between sleep and death that has been so strangely over-used by writers, both ancient and modern. 'For myself', he ends his book, 'I much prefer the old maxim that life is a dream. For those who find it a painful dream, it at least leaves the happy thought that they may one day wake up in death.'"

There is something odd about Saint-Denis's own dreams, which presumably derives from his preoccupation with them and from his having acquired the knack of remembering the imagery of twilight states between wakefulness and sleep. They rarely lend themselves to either lucid or dreamlike interpretation, and striking contrast to the numerous quoted dreams of his friends, which usually do. As Schatzman points out in his introduction, Saint-Denis was interested in the process of dreaming, not in the discovery of possible hidden meanings. He does, however, point out that many dreams can be viewed as arguments or dialogues between different aspects of the self, an observation which implies that he thought that dreams have both function and meaning.

Schatzman's introduction and one-page "Brief Biography" are panimous in the extreme. They do little to help the reader get Saint-Denis into historical and social perspective or to conceive what kind of man he really was. In his day Hervey de Saint-Denis was a distinguished man, who seemingly knew everyone, and it is, I think, unlikely that as little is known about him as Dr Schatzman seems to imply.

The myth of harmony

Colin Lucas

PATRICE HIGONNET

Class, Ideology, and the Rights of Nobles during the French Revolution
325pp. Oxford University Press.
£22.50.
0 19 82583 0

Nobles had a distinctly rough time during the French Revolution. They were assaulted in their persons, their property and their rights. Their property and sometimes their persons were attacked in the rural *jacqueries* that broke out in various places in 1789 and 1792. They were the main losers in the August 1789 abolition of the seigneurial system, albeit clothed initially in generous redemption terms. In 1790, nobility itself was abolished. During the Revolution as a whole, perhaps some 25,000 nobles perished. Increasingly stiff penalties were exacted against these *émigrés*. Their property was sequestered to the nation and began to be auctioned off. Their relatives suffered increasing disabilities. Even when, after the Terror, legislation had to take account of the fact that many people other than nobles had emigrated, the loosening of sanctions was not extended to nobles.

During the radical offensive of 1793-94, nobles were at their most vulnerable. Although nobility was not officially a crime, it was certainly often quoted as a reason for arrest and it was clearly an aggravating circumstance in the presumption of guilt. In 1793, radicals campaigned for the exclusion of nobles from all official positions. This was enacted in 1794, though repealed three months later on the fall of Robespierre. The peak of legislative intolerance was reached during one of the Directory's Jacobin phases when, in November 1797, nobles were deprived of their civil rights and ceased to be French.

Of course, all of this was wiped out with the Consulate. As is well known, Napoleon presided over the reconciliation of the élites and thus involved ending the discriminatory legislation and a general amnesty.

In practice, things were not as bleak as this catalogue might lead one to suppose. Despite incidents, anti-nobility was not a feature of the legislative revolution before late 1791. However, uncomfortable things became, nobles did not stand out as the exclusive or even the principal victims of either popular or official directed repression. They constituted perhaps as little as one-eighth of the *émigrés*. A great many of them stayed quietly in France throughout these years. A significant number espoused the Revolution and played active roles even during the Jacobin period. Legislation always proved impossible to apply in practice. At the height of the war, roughly half the army officers were pre-revolutionary and hence nobles. The Revolution could not do without them and, if a defeated noble general was a corrupt aristocrat, a victorious one was surely a patriot. It is anathema of the Directory remained largely unimplemented. Finally, although there were individual disasters, the nobility in general did not emerge from this period badly damaged in its property base. Even *émigré* families managed to hold on to or to recover significant amounts.

Revolutionary anti-nobility was more than rhetoric; but its substance was less than the evicting and destruction of the nobles as the hegemonic class of the *ancien régime*. The contradiction between a categorical discourse and the fragmentary reality is mirrored in the contradiction between the two current interpretations of the historical meaning of the French Revolution. For the Marxists, the Revolution marked the emergence of the bourgeoisie society through the destruction of feudalism. The radicalization of the Revolution represented the bourgeoisie's realization of its historical function. The Jacobins were the most conscious sector of the bourgeoisie, for they understood that their class interests required a popular alliance against the nobility, in order to achieve the final destruction of feudalism.

Modern revisionists prefer to see the *émigré* society evolving

towards a homogeneous élite of property-owners, among whom distinctions of birth and privilege were increasingly confused and irrelevant. 1789 constituted an important step in the crystallization of this élite. The fact that such a fusion of élites did not stabilize is attributed to a series of political *dérangements*. These fortuitous slippages were provoked by revolutionary circumstance and are explicable by the detailed history of the period. Napoleon's revolutionary settlement finally baptized the new-born property élite that the decade of the 1790s had laboured to bring forth.

Whatever their relative merits in explaining the origins and consequences of the Revolution, neither of these theses is wholly satisfactory when viewed from inside the Revolution. The Marxist version is based upon an inaccurate description of pre-revolutionary society; it formulates a monolithic interpretation of Jacobinism (that seems simplistic and in particular it fails to explain the disparity between practical and rhetorical anti-nobility). The revisionists' reliance upon the concept of *dérangement* is weak. Although it is initially appealing to those of an empiricist approach, it does not properly explain why the defence of property and of individual rights did not prevent the victory of radicalism and the alliance with the popular movement, which must, in this interpretation, be deemed unnatural.

Thus, Patrice Higonnet's study intervenes in a crucial problem of interpretation. His contribution is one of considerable merit and importance; it combines wide reading with patient theoretical reflection. He has set out to reconcile in some degree Marxists and revisionists and to provide a some explanation of the contradictions in revolutionary anti-nobility. One may doubt whether he has in fact reconciled the two schools; one may consider his thesis to be more internal to the problem than he allows; one can debate a fair number of his detailed arguments. Nonetheless, he has formulated at least one major concept which allows a new and frequently convincing interpretation of the behaviour of the revolutionaries, an interpretation that historians of the period will have either to incorporate or to refute squarely.

Professor Higonnet's argument rests upon two plans. In the first place, though closer to the revisionists than to the Marxists, he sees the emergence of a property-owning élite as less complete than suggested by the revisionists. He proposes a pre-Revolutionary society in considerable composite class of nobles had not properly displaced an older society of bourgeois to nobles. A developing capitalism and notions of individualism were provoking confusing currents in the 1770s and 1780s. Although he does little to demonstrate this other than by the fact of revolutionary anti-nobility itself, Higonnet is probably right. Revisionist writings in the 1960s and 1970s on the nature of the élite now seems too categorical.

It is this social confusion which allows Higonnet to develop his argument in terms of an ideological confusion. At its roots lies what he terms 'bourgeois universalism'. This concept was sketched by Marc Riché in 1974 and developed in 1978 by François Furet in terms different from those employed here. Derived from older traditions, bourgeois universalism marked with Enlightenment ideas, bourgeois universalism essentially propounded that, stripped of caste, a natural society would emerge that was harmonious. This expectation led to the belief that the function of government was to promote a single and harmonious society: ideologically, the men who occupied with the community in which egalitarianism in terms of rights and goods. The cult of classical Greece and Rome reflected this, for it was a cult of the classical concepts of virtue as the restraint of individualism and the recognition of the superior claims of the public good.

At bottom, however, there was an inescapable contradiction between individualism and universalism. Higonnet argues that much of the revolutionary struggle can be read in terms of the slow realization of this contradiction leading to the final acceptance of individualism and abandonment of the impossible myth of the harmonious community. He suggests that, although property owners were not class-divided either before or after the Revolution, struggles occurred during the Revolution that were of a class nature. These derived from the working-out of the ideological confusion of bourgeois universalism, since the pursuit of this myth led the bourgeoisie to harry the nobles as nobles rather than to ally with them as property-owners. For a time, the myth of the harmonious society in property did not exist proved more powerful than the hard realities of the interests of property.

Higonnet essentially divides the Revolution into three phases. Until late in 1791, it was assumed that nobles would participate in the harmonious community. There appeared little contradiction between property and community (after all, the abolition of feudalism involved transforming lucrative rights into property). The nobility of nobility should be seen as an anti-corporatist act necessary to the single society and not as anti-nobility.

The second phase is the rising tide of anti-nobility under the Girondins and then the Mountain. Higonnet terms this "opportunistic anti-nobility". It was the vision of virtue and the community which allowed the bourgeoisie both to seek allies for its defence on the more radical and popular left and also to brand nobles as corrupt and selfish enemies of the public good. With the Girondins, this image was applied to *émigrés* and their noble allies; by the time Jacobin radicalism was at its height it had been extended to the nobility more generally.

Anti-nobility was opportunistic among the Girondins because it was designed to procure the basis of a popular alliance. With the Mountain, it was opportunistic in another sense. It had allowed a popular alliance by obscuring the fundamental contradiction over the question of property, permitting indeed some bourgeois regulation of individualism in the name of community. Yet, such a contradiction was inescapable by the end of 1793. In the mouths of Robespierre and Saint-Just, anti-nobility became simply a displacement of contradictions.

Universalism expressing itself in anti-nobility shifted the question away from property and *égalité de jouissances* towards the task of creating a new moral order constructed by the alliance of the virtuous poor and the virtuous, propertied Jacobins, united in moral and political equality. The

exclusion of the nobles became the symbolic representation of social regeneration. Nobles became the epitome of corruption and evil in a war of republican virtue against vice. If this projection of bourgeois universalism succeeded in concealing the tension between individualism and community as far as the incorruptible was concerned, it hardly did so for the *sous-chiffes*, who no longer viewed nobles in 1794 with the loathing that they had shown in 1793.

The post-Thermidorian period constitutes the third phase. Here, the vacillating legislative stance on nobles, together with the slight practical effect of the Law of 1797, reflected the growing distance between a small number of legislators and the bulk of property-owners. The former remained wedded to universalism, the latter were increasingly devoted to individualism.

Higonnet's study is essentially one of ideology and in this respect it is often convincing. The concept of individualism, and its relationship to understanding the political discourse of both the Constituent Assembly and of the Terror. Nonetheless, the use to which he puts his thesis seems open to some criticisms, of which two may be voiced here.

In the first place, Higonnet has perhaps restricted his field too much by concentrating on the nobility. Although universalism is the key to understanding attitudes to the nobility, and although these latter epitomize the universalist perception, the implications that he draws have wider resonances. He therefore over-emphasizes, perhaps, the importance of the noble issue at times while elsewhere his argument appears weak for not being inserted into a wider context. Thus, for example, the whole radical discourse about universalism (and this began almost with the Revolution) well before it surfaces in this book identified a broad range of persons and behaviour patterns as corruptions of the public good. Although broadly lumped together as *aristocratic*, they were never confined to nobles even at the height of the Jacobin Terror, whatever the personal preferences of Robespierre and Saint-Just. Nobles were always part of a spectrum that included priests, food hoarders, speculators, religious fanatics, the over-rich, deserters, and so on.

Higonnet's treatment of the crucial Girondin move to the left in perhaps the least convincing passage in the book precisely because he confines himself to their visibly specious anti-nobility. Their attitude and hence the relevance of his own thesis can only be understood in the context of the defence of the harmonious community against a number of corrupting influences, some of which, notably refractory priests, were seen at this

point as much more dangerous than nobles.

In the second place, Higonnet uses the phrase "bourgeois universalism" as a deliberate counterweight to "bourgeois individualism". Yet, it obscures its nature. He does not really make enough of the social confusion to which he premises his argument. For as the concept of virtue had as strong roots in traditional noble perceptions as it did in civic humanism, so universalism had a broad appeal on the eve of the Revolution precisely because it rendered coherent and bound together this society in flux. It was the ideological *middle ground* held by nobles and bourgeois alike under the Constituent Assembly, whatever rejectionist fringes may have existed on either side. One could say that Higonnet's account of the subsequent years as meaning only that universalism was monopolized by radical bourgeois politicians to make them to control the political system.

Indeed, it is never entirely clear how representative the radical exponents of universalism really were. He depicts the Marxists for seeing the Girondins and later the Mountain as the only valid interpreters of the bourgeoisie's profound aspirations. Yet, he himself seems also to make them the most "false" consciousness. Ultimately, much of the argument about the Mountain is based on the reading of Saint-Just. It really needs to be established whether the particular emphases of these two faithfully encapsulated Montagnard perceptions, let alone those of the property-owners at large.

Higonnet leaves a curious impression in the social underpinning of this ideology. It is never quite clear whether he is using the phrase "Revolutionary bourgeoisie" to mean the bourgeoisie in the Revolution or a number of bourgeois revolutionaries. In one place, he states that "the Revolutionary bourgeoisie acted as control of politics in 1792", yet elsewhere the whole argument assumes that bourgeois universalism presided over in 1789. Who exactly is involved in "the Revolutionary bourgeoisie's decision... to find a solution... on the left" or, as it is put 130 pages later, "the bourgeois revolutionaries' decision to follow the more daring, progressive course"?

There is here an ambiguity about the progress of the struggle between "true" consciousness (individualism) and "false" consciousness (universalism). Higonnet says that some sectors were losing faith in universalism (reflected, for example, in the contrast between Barnave and Brissot in 1791); yet he really admits to the extension of the Directory, when the problem had really moved on to be that of the relationship between conservatism and counter-revolution. The extensive protests against the popular invasion of the Tuilleries on June 20, 1792, and the widespread Federalist rebellion of 1793 demonstrate how little the property-owners outside Paris were a radical popular alliance. *Revolutions* therefore, they had reservations about the implications of the universalist upon which Higonnet was built, that the alliance was built on a shaky, therefore, a philosophically and ideologically shaky ground. But it is so at the cost of remaining within an ever-narrowing circle of Parisian politicians whose power was arguably derived from their control of government in a way more emergency than from their ability to resolve theoretically the contradictory aspirations of the bourgeoisie.

1789: *Emblems of Reason* an English translation by Barbara Bray of Jean Starobinski's survey of the images of the French Revolution, has recently appeared (289pp. Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 0 8139 0915 5). At the time of the book's original publication in France in 1973, the TLS reviewer noted that the contemporary *émigré* was suggested by the title "were left to artists of other nations, generally bearing witness to the conflict from a safe distance".

ENGLISH LITERATURE

JEAN-PIERRE MILLEUR

Vision and Revision: Coleridge's Art of Immanence
184pp. University of California Press.
£15.20.
0 520 04447 9

Vision and Revision is a study with a firm theory behind it. Human beings are born into a world where they find themselves inevitably belated, a world which they cannot easily understand. The anxiety which this situation arouses in them causes them to defend their threatened identity by trying to reach an absolute Word, a fixed and determinate version of reality which would have the solid reality of a painted text. If they do only in recent years that critics have grasped how very differently the poem reads without them. If Coleridge had wished to draw attention to the poem's contradictions he would surely not have adopted so indirect a method.

The truth seems to be simpler. Coleridge set out to write a poem which was primarily a drama of the human heart. He allowed such free play to the contradictions of human affairs that the poem would make sense only if the reader could, by an act of sympathetic attention, open his heart in union with the Mariner at the crucial moment. But seeing how the poem had been received, how little its central point was appreciated, he later gave the poem a new framework which, without negating his point, would render it available within a more familiar, Christian setting.

The conclusion to Part Two of "Christabel" is a different case. Here we have the pleasure of the father responding with anger to his loved child because, perhaps, that is the only way his love can find expression. Milleur subsumes this into the phenomenon of the "word-surprise" as discussed by psycho-analysis: for him it opens the poem to a psycho-analytic reading that would centre in Coleridge's inclusion as to whether Gertrude is a good or bad character. This strikes one as far-fetched, at least if it stands. There is no doubt some connection with the ambiguity of Gertrude, and (more directly) with Christabel's father's anger when he sees his daughter's unconscious initiation of her, but the main thrust is surely forward, towards a prolonged consummation where all such interplay between apparent good and evil, between the energies of anger and those of love, would have been brought into resolution. Coleridge cannot at present bring it off, but in the meantime he offers this riddling episode, with its touch of "I could not if I would", to tease and tantalize the reader with suggestions of revelations yet to come.

"Kubla Khan" is the poem best suited to Milleur's theories, since this is clearly at one level a poem about the nature of the Word. Kubla, creating by decree, is both a belated mortal and a tyrant whose word, though powerful, cannot match in effectiveness the original, successful Word of true creativity. Milleur interprets the whole poem in these terms, arguing, for example, that by altering the manuscript reading "Mount Amara" with its echo of *Paradise Lost*, to "Mount Abora", Coleridge is substituting for a mountain that has an existence in the written word a mountain which, having no such provenance, is a symbol of the original Word, generating the alphabet and all subsequent words without being contained anywhere in them. Under his theory writing the Preface is the necessary, necessary step for Coleridge to take, giving the experience of composing his poem a context for the reader's restoring him from the faded world of Kubla, belated and beset by his urge to define, into a mediated world, as seen in the account of the encounter between Coleridge himself and the person from Porlock.

Once again this seems to be reversing the order of things. Coleridge's object in writing the Preface, surely, was not to find a way of escaping from the anxiety inherent in the creative act, but to divert attention from the extravagant claims which he stars that still sojourn, yet still move onward.

This is described as inventing an elaborately circumstantial interpretation of the poem's significance which is apparently aimed at making one point: the moon does not fit into whatever figurative structure which (sic) the unrecognized part of the Mariner's self... is projecting onto the external world.

But this is surely over-ingenious. The moon and stars are not here "an unpolluted otherness", as is being maintained; the continuing gloss compares them to lords arriving home to a greeting of silent joy. The effect of the marginal glosses as a whole is rather to create a further framework of significance for the poem: indeed, it is only in recent years that critics have grasped how very differently the poem reads without them. If Coleridge had wished to draw attention to the poem's contradictions he would surely not have adopted so indirect a method.

The truth seems to be simpler. Coleridge set out to write a poem which was primarily a drama of the human heart. He allowed such free play to the contradictions of human affairs that the poem would make sense only if the reader could, by an act of sympathetic attention, open his heart in union with the Mariner at the crucial moment. But seeing how the poem had been received, how little its central point was appreciated, he later gave the poem a new framework which, without negating his point, would render it available within a more familiar, Christian setting.

The conclusion to Part Two of "Christabel" is a different case. Here we have the pleasure of the father responding with anger to his loved child because, perhaps, that is the only way his love can find expression. Milleur subsumes this into the phenomenon of the "word-surprise" as discussed by psycho-analysis: for him it opens the poem to a psycho-analytic reading that would centre in Coleridge's inclusion as to whether Gertrude is a good or bad character. This strikes one as far-fetched, at least if it stands. There is no doubt some connection with the ambiguity of Gertrude, and (more directly) with Christabel's father's anger when he sees his daughter's unconscious initiation of her, but the main thrust is surely forward, towards a prolonged consummation where all such interplay between apparent good and evil, between the energies of anger and those of love, would have been brought into resolution. Coleridge cannot at present bring it off, but in the meantime he offers this riddling episode, with its touch of "I could not if I would", to tease and tantalize the reader with suggestions of revelations yet to come.

"Kubla Khan" is the poem best suited to Milleur's theories, since this is clearly at one level a poem about the nature of the Word. Kubla, creating by decree, is both a belated mortal and a tyrant whose word, though powerful, cannot match in effectiveness the original, successful Word of true creativity. Milleur interprets the whole poem in these terms, arguing, for example, that by altering the manuscript reading "Mount Amara" with its echo of *Paradise Lost*, to "Mount Abora", Coleridge is substituting for a mountain that has an existence in the written word a mountain which, having no such provenance, is a symbol of the original Word, generating the alphabet and all subsequent words without being contained anywhere in them. Under his theory writing the Preface is the necessary, necessary step for Coleridge to take, giving the experience of composing his poem a context for the reader's restoring him from the faded world of Kubla, belated and beset by his urge to define, into a mediated world, as seen in the account of the encounter between Coleridge himself and the person from Porlock.

Once again this seems to be reversing the order of things. Coleridge's object in writing the Preface, surely, was not to find a way of escaping from the anxiety inherent in the creative act, but to divert attention from the extravagant claims which he stars that still sojourn, yet still move onward.

Coleridge's object in writing the Preface, surely, was not to find a way of escaping from the anxiety inherent in the creative act, but to divert attention from the extravagant claims which he stars that still sojourn, yet still move onward.

was making for himself as poet in the instant of the poem. If the Preface is an act of mediation it is so in a mere old-fashioned sense, setting up a mode of discourse between himself and his reader which will enable the poem to be approached without embarrassment. The poem is now offered as no more than a "psychological curiosity", though the hint, the tantalization, are still there in the subtitle "A Vision in a Dream".

Such attempts to fit Coleridge to a theory rather than to find a theory for Coleridge also pervade the account of the "conversation poems". This is, of course, a description which Coleridge himself gave to only one of his poems: he classified the others as "meditative poems in blank verse", "odes" and so on. The term serves to indicate a certain informality of diction which runs through them, but should not be applied too freely. Milleur wishes to propose a paradigm against which they should all be read:

The speaker begins with a feeling of absence, ranging in seriousness from idleness to loss to despair. His attention fixes on some object or event in the external scene, with which he becomes closely engaged... It might be said that he escapes a moment of deepening, perhaps even dangerous (because increasingly straitened) subjectivity by "writing" his feelings onto nature, thereby objectifying self and turning nature into a kind of text of his own psyche.

This is one way of reading "Defection", and is not without some relevance to "This Lime Tree Bower"; but it distorts Coleridge to claim that anxiety always precedes and conditions his view of nature. In the poetry itself it is often presented as an intervening check, stemming the flow of an otherwise carefree flow of speculation. There seems to be no good reason to see anxiety as dominating the opening lines of "The Enolian Harp", for instance, or of "Frost at Midnight".

If the attempt to fix the terms of Coleridge's predicament by giving prominence throughout to his anxiety does violence to the more subtle dialectic between creativity and anxiety in his poetic career, it also misrepresents work such as that in the Bible in *The Statesman's Manual*. It is Milleur's contention that Coleridge here escapes from his dilemma by embracing the Bible, the Word which precedes all other words, the Text that guarantees all other texts. Living no author, the Bible has complete authority; in its light all other texts must submit to revisions in the course of which their authors will discover, like Coleridge, their own Immanence.

There are some statements in *The Statesman's Manual* which might support such a reading, notably Coleridge's assertion that the Bible is unique by reason of its "immediate derivation from God", and that each of its elements is "a living Germ, in which the Present involves the Future, and in the Future the Infinite exists potentially". But to go no further than this is to miss the degree to which this essay, also, is shot through with contradictions that have long existed in Coleridge's thought. For the *idea* of the Bible is separable from its actual content. Although Coleridge might proclaim its immediate derivation from God, he was, as Milleur acknowledges, well aware of the findings of biblical scholars in Germany, which exposed the separate contributions of various authors and demonstrated their vulnerability. He was forced to see it not as "unique" but as a "problem" since, while the Word might stand as guarantor of that human imagination which has its "repetition in the finite human mind", it could equally powerfully negate the imagination when it spoke to man in tones of admonition and accusation. Both kinds of "word" are operative as early as "The Enolian Harp". He has simply found a new way of paralyzing his problems, therefore, not a solution.

So with *Biographia Literaria*. Milleur points out that much of the argument of the second volume is concerned with establishing the priority of interpretation over the original poetic act, and in particular with questioning

Wordsworth's authority over his own poetry. Coleridge's revision is now being directed to the work of his friend. But the attempt to show that Coleridge is engaged in proving his superiority to Wordsworth by becoming an immanent poet, while Wordsworth remains fixed in the establishment of his own identity, is unconvincing. In particular the reading of the poem "To William Wordsworth", which sees it as establishing for the first time Coleridge's new stance of immanence, by which "it is the Coleridge who speaks to men, not the Wordsworth who speaks above them without really believing in them, who is truly prophetic" is hard in swiftness. It is very difficult to find any challenge at all, explicit or implicit, to Wordsworth, in the poem.

The true problem with this study is that it is based on premises inadequate to the matter in hand. Beginning from the belief that revision is automatically a good activity, it assumes that Coleridge's period of most intensive revision is likely to have been his most fruitful. But revision can take place for many reasons: it can be embarrassing and self-deceiving as well as humble and self-clarifying. So with Coleridge. His true period of creative immanence came much earlier, when he was opening his mind to new ideas and carrying out his intellectual explorations in the company of

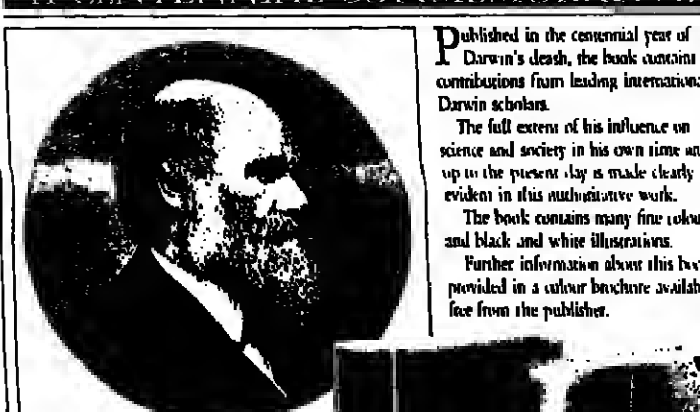
Wordsworth, Davy and others. The revisions of 1815-17 took place because the body of thinking which he had been exploring at that time had ceased to link together. He was being forced to revise his concept of himself in a way which caused him to strain towards a recognizable identity, not to surpass it. In the case of "Kubla Khan", for example, the preface of 1816 replaces an earlier one, written apparently soon after the poem was composed but never published in his lifetime, which begins, "This fragment with a good deal more, not recoverable, composed, in a sort of Reverie...". The 1816 version begins, "In the summer of the year 1797, the Author, then in ill health, had retired to a lonely farm-house...". In which account is the author less self-conscious, more immanent? Similarly the original version of "The Ancient Mariner" suggests an author more immanent, less striving, than the complex version of 1817.

Reading this book is not easy, nor is it helped by the occasional misquotations or lapses in syntax. Few readers will find it worth the effort. There is an intelligent mind at work, however, and if one feels disappointment it is because, paradoxically, a study which directs itself against fixity in literature turns out to have been too early fixed in its own, inadequate theory.

Charles Darwin

1809-1882

A CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATIVE



Published in the centennial year of Darwin's death, the book contains contributions from leading international Darwin scholars.

The full extent of his influence on science and society in his own time and up to the present day is made clearly evident in this authoritative work. The book contains many fine colour and black and white illustrations. Further information about this book is provided in a colour brochure available free from the publisher.

THIS SPECIAL PRESENTATION EDITION IS LIMITED TO ONLY 750 NUMBERED COPIES FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD. Half-bound in leather and buckram with raised bands, gold blocking and marbled endpapers. Size 310mm x 240mm (12 1/4" x 9 1/2"). 392 pages on 100% rag paper. Slip-cased with a strong mailing carton. For full details, specifications and price send for your FREE colour brochure.

CROOM HELM LTD PUBLISHERS

PROVINCIAL HOUSE, RIVERVIEW ROAD, BECKENHAM, KENT BR1 1AT

AFFIRMATION

by JASPAR ROTHAM

A long, narrative-reflective poem, written in a flexible free-verse style; about the author's - and our - life and times over the past seven decades. 125 pages.

Paperback: £4.00

Hardback: £8.00

THE LOMOND PRESS

4 WHITECRAIGS

KINNESSWOOD,

KINROSS, SCOTLAND

On an Etching by J. S. Cotman

"I wept to see the visionary man"
- Dryden's Virgil

There is no richness in this scene,
No life to answer his abstracted stare -
And what we take it that these emblems mean
Is but the index of his inward care;

The summer-house will always stay
About to fall, the river make no sound
As Lethe-like it beats his strength away
And lapses to the darkness underground

And poised above the silent flood
The cowl-clad lion waits, a mask of stone,
Impassive by the tree that will not bud,
The spell-bound youth, beleaguered and alone.

The landscape is an open grave
At which the artist and his subject gaze;
When acid eats the plate his skills engrave
Wan-hope, a mind that falters and decays.

Dick Davis

POSTAGE: INLAND 15¢ ABROAD 17¢

SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, NY. PRICE \$1.25. SUBSCRIBERS US (\$ AIR FREIGHT) \$70.00 YEARLY. TIMES NEWS PAPER OF GREAT BRITAIN INC. 201 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10017.

10

No false gods

B. J. Kemp

A. ROSALIE DAVID

The Ancient Egyptians: Religious Beliefs and Practices
260pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
£9.95 (paperback, £5.95).
0 7100 0877 5

Anyone who writes about Christianity or Islam faces a subject defined by the existence of active believers who have been anxious to create definitions of their own. Ancient Egyptian religion, however, belongs to an earlier stage of human consciousness. Under the heading "religion" we group a broad range of explanations of phenomena and practices which the Egyptians pursued over three millennia. What makes it so difficult for us is that logically consistent arrangement and explanation in the modern sense were not part of their thinking.

Modern writers who seek an orderly summary of Egyptian beliefs consequently face defeat from the outset. It was an age more innocent than ours because there was far less to divide it. The Egyptians lived before the development of natural science created a rival channel for the thoughts of clever men. Yet the natural inclination to curiosity and the complexity was there, and confronted the basic problems of life, death, the dichotomy of order and chaos, and the nature of the universe with a riot of colourful mythology untainted by

doubt. They lived also before the corrosive idea of monotheism and its inevitable rejection of the beliefs of others had gained much ground, and so they speculated in an atmosphere of total equanimity, where the idea of false gods and wrong beliefs had no place. They did not follow our rules, and so we are not in a position to judge Egyptian religious texts and to say which represented a greater feat of intellect than others.

What can modern, Western man make of it? Not a lot, it seems, to judge from most attempts at explanation, both professional and amateur. There is, however, an escape route. Since by "religion" we mean virtually the entire intellectual matrix of ancient Egypt, we can observe and describe many of its workings through a survey of Egyptian history, architecture, burial customs and so on. The reader becomes an outside observer but is left on safe ground. This is the traditional approach, and Rosalie David's book adheres to it. The very arrangement of the book is strictly chronological. It begins with the late prehistoric period, where guesswork has to rule, and proceeds through the pyramid age (the Old Kingdom), the civil wars of the First Intermediate Period, the period of classic literature and taste (the Middle Kingdom) and finally the imperial age of the New Kingdom. Section by section, religious ideas of each period and the religious sides to different aspects of society are briefly described. Nearly a third of the book is taken up with appendices, which the novice will find very useful: they

include much further reading, translations of some of the key documents and a gazetteer of religious sites with descriptive notes.

The author's brisk and businesslike approach mirrors the way in which modern scholarship, unable to cope with Egyptian religion as a revelatory phenomenon, has retreated to political explanation. This is very apparent in the case of King Akhenaten, who shocked mid-fourteenth century Egypt with a short-lived but dramatic shift in theological emphasis, which brought the first hint of a coming world of intellectual division. Dr David is entirely accurate when she writes: "More recently this concept of a visionary ruler has been replaced by the view that Akhenaten was a political opportunist who introduced a new supreme deity in order to destroy the power of Amen-Re and his priesthood." Was this all there really was to it? Or is the author just one of many victims of the bankruptcy of modern scholarship?

Oddly, the book more or less ends with Akhenaten. Yet another thousand years lay ahead, and it is during the latest phases that some of the features of Egyptian religion that have left their greatest impression on the popular view of ancient Egypt arose. In particular, the last centuries saw, for the first time, the animal cults which demanded the mass mummification and burial of cult animals. Pilgrimage, dream interpretation, mystical healing: these and many more manifestations of religion are well documented in texts of the later periods, yet are mostly passed over. Perhaps this is a reflection of a not uncommon view that the last millennium was one of decline and superstition.

For the newcomer who wants a sensible and accurate introduction to the basic shapes of Egyptian religion this book will serve well enough. It does not provoke or worry. It belongs to the tradition of Egyptology as a tradition that has been responsible for much of the financing of Egyptological research in the past.

Resourceful responses

G. W. Dimbleby

M. R. JARMAN, G. N. BAILEY and H. N. JARMAN (Editors)

Early European Agriculture: Its Foundations and Development
283pp. Cambridge University Press.
£25.
0 521 24359 9

This is the third volume by the British Academy Major Research Project on the Early History of Agriculture. The first two, *Papers in Economic Prehistory and Palaeoecology*, were edited by Eric Higgs, who was involved in the early stages of preparation for this volume before he died, and to whom it is dedicated.

The first three chapters of *Early European Agriculture* are a fully argued exposition of the theoretical bases of the project. These centre on the concept of territorial analysis which the team developed and adopted, but which has drawn criticism from various quarters. The editors are obviously sensitive to such criticism, but the mass of results presented here not only have a coherence but also make sense even though they may go against accepted doctrine. Slash-and-burn is out for most of Europe, pure nomadism may never have existed, and the megalith builders were primarily pastoralists.

The project team has not only carried out, or drawn upon, a great deal of field-work on the earliest Neolithic sites in many parts of Europe, but has also devoted much attention to pre-Neolithic economies. The areas covered have been grouped under the following chapter headings: coasts, lakes and littorals; the lowlands; the uplands; and an interesting chapter devoted to the megaliths. Principles have emerged that can be demonstrated from site to site. In itself is some token of their validity.

One of the planks in the arguments put forward is that changes in economy came about in response to population pressure on resources. This is demonstrable in pre-agricultural periods as well as later. In fact it is suggested that some "agricultural" practices such as hunting and domestication could even have occurred in the Palaeolithic. Until domestication, actually, produced structural change it would not be

organizable. The book contains a number of such theories for which there can be no concrete evidence, but before condemning these as speculation it must be recognized that some widely accepted archaeological views are apparently no better founded.

The indigenous Mesolithic was probably the end-point of a long period of development of animal exploitation. Economic studies have turned up some unexpected conclusions; for example, coastal sites, even those with huge shell middens, were probably primarily dependent on terrestrial and not marine resources. When arable farming came along, the resource it needed was cultivable soil, so sites were often in very different situations from those of the Mesolithic. In upland areas, which may have been exploited by Neolithic transhumance for summer grazing, there was a closer resource interest, and some sites in the uplands showed a transition from dependence on wild animals to the use of introduced domestic stock. The first appearance of Neolithic agriculture therefore can vary from a complete break with what has gone before to an apparent transition.

Increasing population, along with new and developing technology, acting on available resources would have produced new circumstances. In which "individual" and "population fitness" would have led to a better adapted genotype. This, the authors believe, would in turn have led to behavioural change. Indeed they see this line as the most promising way ahead for future research. It must be remembered, however, that natural selection acts on individuals, not on populations, and the same would be true of behaviour. In so far as it is genetically determined, which, in itself, is very much a moot point.

For myself I would see the way ahead in different terms. There are places in this book where the writers are either unfamiliar with, or have overlooked, alternative sources of knowledge. For example, data from the Butser Iron Age Farm Project show that emper has a much higher protein content than modern wheats; this immediately calls into question the validity of using modern data as a basis for estimating early resource levels. Palaeoecology, having established itself as a valid methodology, should not attempt to go it alone, but needs now to link itself with complementary lines of research relevant to this crucial period of our past.

Peoples of the Sea

Kenneth Kitchen

TRUDE DOTHAN

The Philistines and their Material Culture
310pp. Yale University Press. £30.
0 300 02258 1

This beautifully printed volume is a revised and updated version of Trude Dothan's work on the Philistines first published in Hebrew in 1967. While the volume is dated 1982, the acknowledgments are dated 1979, and the bibliography reaches to 1978; thus, developments in the past three or four years could perhaps not be included or taken note of.

The work has six chapters followed by a comprehensive bibliography and index. Chapter One succinctly reviews the historical sources for the Philistines in south-west Palestine (to which they gave their name) during the thirteenth to tenth centuries BC – the period of their definitive settlement there and greatest power, until contained by the efforts of David and Solomon. It is within this period, and radiating out from this area, that archaeological sites have yielded distinctive remains – pottery, clay coffins, a form of rock-cut tomb, remains of temples – which have consequently acquired the epithet "Philistine". When they came to Canaan, the Philistines were one of a group of peoples (peoples of the Sea, ancient Egyptian terms). In so far as some of these groups are indistinguishable from each other in dress, etc., in the Egyptian pictorial record (the only one we have), the term "Philistine" has to cover Philistines proper, Tjekker and Danunians. With that qualification, also made by Mrs Dothan, the coincidence of the historical sources and the archaeological remains in space and time fully justifies the overall term "Philistine".

Chapters Two to Five are the solid heart of the book. First, a lucid, critical survey of twenty-eight major, and a dozen minor, sites having Philistine remains, especially pottery and burials. Second, a clear survey (well illustrated) of the types of pottery and

their characteristic decoration, with "sub-chapters" (Four) on culture, Third, a treatment of burial customs, which most attention is given to anthropoid clay coffins with their grotesquely modelled faces. The final chapter essays to chart the principal dates of Philistine settlement and expansion in Canaan until curbed by the Hebrew kings.

From properly observed stratified excavations, the pottery had the main phases: fine ware, painted black and red on white slip, mainly Mycenaean-inspired (most of a twelfth century BC), then a ware of slightly lower quality, then a ware of red slip and brown decor, with changing forms and motifs, as the Philistines became steadily more assimilated culturally to the Canaanite and Hebrew neighbours. The clay coffins were not imported by the Philistines, but adopted by them under Egyptian influence. (It was recalling that some Egyptian contingents served with Egyptian forces from the first years of Ramesses II, at the Battle of Qadesh, c.1250 BC.)

Absolute chronology in this rests on Egyptian dates. Unfortunately, Mrs Dothan cites the *Cambridge Ancient History* for some twenty years ago – reasonably enough then, but up to a quarter-century too high today. Metaphorically now is c.1213–1203 (not 1230), and Ramesses III nearer 1185/7 than 1191. The supposed scarabs of Ramesses VIII give Mrs Dothan some trouble, and rightly so, because they are really scarabs of statues of Ramesses II (as established by Yoyotte in 1949). This limits the possible span of use of some tombs. The rest of the chronology is acceptable. If the Egyptian key-dates are lowered by about twenty-five years at the beginning, and by about a decade by the twelfth and early eleventh centuries AC.

The author has provided a well articulated handbook which, in her form, should be a boon to all scholars and serious students of the subject. Near East whose work and interests involve them with the material legacy of the ancient Philistines.

Worlds on which the sun set

Crispin Tickell

NIGEL DAVIES

The Ancient Kingdom of Mexico
272pp. Allen Lane. £12.50.
0 7139 1245 6

The societies of ancient Mexico, which came to so abrupt an end between 1519 and 1521, had common origins and common characteristics. All depended on maize (itself an invention of the early peoples of the mountain plateau), all shared similar traditions of thought and religion; all developed high art in forms which show continuity over thousands of years; and all, except the last – conform to a cycle of growth, success and internal collapse. The Aztecs believed that the sun was only a matter of time before the sun would cease to rise on their world, the fifth since creation. Indeed this belief contributed to the paralysis of nerve which led to their destruction at the hands of a bunch of desperadoes from the east, equipped with iron, guns, horses and viruses from the Old World.

In this book Nigel Davies traces what he describes as the four civilizational cultures of what is now Mexico: the Olmecs of the Gulf coast, from around 1200 to 100 BC; the people of Teotihuacan in the Valley of Mexico, from around 200 BC to 750 AD; their successors the Toltecs from Tula to the north of the Valley from around 800 to 1150 AD; and finally the Aztecs in the great city of Tenochtitlan, on which the modern city of Mexico is built, for the last hundred years before the conquest. As Dr Davies acknowledges, this approach is inevitably artificial. Maya civilization, whose roots were Olmec and whose influence in the south was as great as that of Teotihuacan in the north, is thereby

excluded. So are the Zapotecs and Mixtecs of Oaxaca, and the peoples of the city of El Tajin and their successors on the Gulf coast. What society can be regarded as regional and what as ecumenical is open to argument. Certainly they were all entangled with each other. Even if the fabric of pre-Hispanic society was richly diverse, its underlying unity was clear from its slow beginnings to its quick end.

The difficulty for the historian lies in the nature of the evidence. Reading backwards, our knowledge of Aztec society is fairly good. We have the written accounts of the Spaniards (often mean anthropologists), those of the pre-Hispanic peoples themselves, sometimes through their surviving painted books, and the archaeological remains which pepper central America. But further into the past the picture gets rapidly dimmer, and for the Toltecs, Teotihuacanos, and Olmecs we have to rely on the archaeological evidence spiced with myth, extrapolation from the sixteenth century and the influences of modern anthropology. Much can be conjectured from these materials, but the results are inevitably partial and uncertain. The spread of a technique of pottery-making or of a particular architectural design cannot usefully be given a political or military interpretation. The huge grass-covered mounds still awaiting excavation could radically change the existing picture. The theology of the Aztecs is too fragmentary to guide the beliefs of a thousand years earlier. We have only to imagine ourselves trying to apply these methods to European history.

Given these handicaps, Davies does well. He has brought together contributions from many disciplines, and set them out in brief, easy, and readable form. He has a particular gift

for sympathetic re-creation of the framework of existence to the societies under review and he conveys something of what it may have been like to have lived in these. His chapters on the Aztecs are particularly eloquent and interesting. Under his guidance it is almost possible to understand the state of mind which called for ever increasing sacrifice of human lives to ensure the good health of the sun and those warmed and nourished by it.

For future editions of what destined to be a popular book, it might be well to get away from the notion that these societies were self-contained kingdoms. We simply do not know how Olmec, Teotihuacanos or Toltecs, or what political relationships they had with other peoples of the early period. It is possible that there were around seven or eight, rather than four, free ages when the Spaniards would have been a possible passage-way for animals and people between Asia and America. Who the men were, into what generic groups they fell, and whether other peoples reached ancient America by land means, are still matters of debate. We converse with what Davies does rather summarily. There may also be doubts about some of the anthropological deductions from Olmec sculpture. The colossal heads, the jade masks with white eyes and smiling faces, and the other carved figures in stone and gold seem to come perfectly out of the darkness of the long past.

Any history of pre-Hispanic America ends in sadness. What are the ugly aspects of this rich, powerful, unevenly sophisticated, and society, its obliteration by God or Spaniards, driven by zeal for God and gold; is the first and still the most result of the expansion of European

SOCIAL STUDIES

Pinpointing the poor

Rudolf Klein

MICHAEL BROWN and NICOLA MADGE
Despite the Welfare State: A Report on the SSRC/DHSS Programme of Research into Transmitted Deprivation
30pp. Heinemann Educational.
£4.95
0 435 82096 6

THOMAS WILSON and DOROTHY J. WILSON
The Political Economy of the Welfare State
215pp. Allen and Unwin. £15 (paperback, £5.95).
0 04 33077 7

Once upon a time the social sciences had no greater admirer than Sir Keith Joseph. In a previous incarnation as Secretary of State for the Social Services in the Heath administration, it was to him that he looked for guidance. When he reorganized the National Health Service, it was to the management experts that he turned for the problem of poverty, it was to the Social Science Research Council that he turned for help. Yet ten years later, as the Education Secretary of State for the Education in the Thatcher Government, Sir Keith has emerged as the scourge of the social scientists and the hammer of the SSRC. Never one to do things by half, and much given to head-bashing inquests on his past mistakes, he has swung full circle. The love affair has turned sour.

To understand Sir Keith's volte face, and find the key to his disillusionment, we need to go back to the book by Michael Brown and Nicola Madge. This, in effect, an end-of-term report on the SSRC's programme of research into deprivation which was launched by Sir Keith in 1972 and which involved over seventy academics working on thirty-four projects of various kinds: the most ambitious attempt yet made to harness the social sciences to the concerns of policy-makers. And while *Despite the Welfare State* is primarily concerned to distil the findings of the research, it also provides a study of the relationship between social scientists and policy-makers: a relationship which, the evidence would seem to suggest, is destined to end in a mutual sense of betrayal.

In launching the research programme, Sir Keith was not only impelled by a general concern about poverty in a society which was spending an ever-increasing proportion of the national income on social welfare. But he defined his concern in a very specific way: it was with the transmission of deprivation from generation to generation. If only these societies were self-contained kingdoms, broken – if means could be found of preventing problem families creating problem children, and so *de capo* – it would be possible to deal with self-perpetuating poverty. Like all problems which the social sciences have incorporated a theory about the nature of society and the kind of solutions that work. But poverty had its root in family attitudes and relationships; and that it should therefore be the aim of public policy to devise instruments which would change these.

In responding to Sir Keith's initiative, however, the social science research community rejected both his definition of the problem and its underlying theory. Instead of concentrating on the "minority of severely and multiply deprived families" whose various problems in achieving social adjustment appeared to be perpetuated across generations", the researchers set out to map deprivation in all its forms and dimensions. Against the background of the theory of family circumstances, they set their theory of poverty rooted in social structure of society. As Sir Brown and Madge put it:

The programme as it finally emerged was, not surprisingly perhaps, diverse in both scope and quality. The researchers, Brown and Madge point out, asked different questions and used different methodological approaches: "Indeed there are as many definitions of deprivation employed by researchers as there are studies". What had started out as a research programme designed to address itself to a discrete, specific problem, thus turned out in the event to be an exercise in demonstrating that the extent of the problem was far greater, and its nature far more complex, than assumed in the original definition. Instead of providing policy instruments, the programme demonstrated the peculiarly intractable nature of the issue by documenting the scale of deprivation and disadvantage in our society; instead of solving problems for the policy-makers, it created embarrassment for them by underlining the failure of the attempts to eradicate poverty. For once the scope of the programme was widened, the final conclusion reached followed almost automatically: that "much deprivation is deeply rooted in the structure of our society and affected by the outwork of unequal opportunities and life chances that the structure maintains".

No wonder Sir Keith felt betrayed. If his own theory of the cycle of deprivation was not entirely discredited – some of the research indicates that it appears to hold water, if only for a minority of the disadvantaged – it had been largely ignored. From his perspective, the programme of research had been subverted, and used by the research community to pursue its own ideological preoccupations with mapping the extent of poverty in our society.

Similarly, the research community has felt betrayed. From its perspective, it was only asked to test a "hypothesis" – the phrase used by Michael Posner, the Chairman of the SSRC, in his introduction to the book – and it did so using the methodology of the discipline. For the customer of the research to complain that it had not come up with the expected answer is surely unreasonable.

In a sense, both are right. From Sir Keith's point of view, it was not unreasonable to expect that the social science community would actually address the question he had asked, instead of the question he ought to have asked to the opinion of the researchers. From the point of view of the social science community, it was not unreasonable to redefine the problem in a way which fitted into its model of the world; after all, no one would dream of setting the natural sciences a problem based on the presupposition that the earth is flat.

But, of course, the trouble is that politicians and social scientists inevitably use different models of the world. The former are concerned to define problems in such a way that they become soluble in terms of their own preconceptions of the feasible; it is a search for simplicity and tractability. If assuming that the earth is flat makes it easier to devise policy solutions, then so matters. In contrast, the social sciences are concerned with defining problems accurately, the nature of problems, not with finding acceptable policy solutions. Their bias is to document social problems, not to solve them; their skill tends to lie in demonstrating complexity and underlining the failures of policy.

If differences in intellectual languages are compounded by differences in underlying ideology – as they undoubtedly were in the case of the cycle of deprivation – then the result is inevitably a dialogue of the deaf. For what really distinguishes most of the social sciences from the natural

sciences is that the former inescapably make value judgments when defining problems. Consider, for example, the vast literature on poverty: here, as the Wilsons make clear in their admirable introduction to *The Political Economy of the Welfare State*, competing statistics of poverty reflect competing assumptions about what the appropriate benchmarks for measuring deprivation should be. Depending on the assumptions made, the figures can either be inflated or deflated. But, to concede a point to Sir Keith, there is precious little science about the way these benchmarks are formulated – although scientific techniques may be used in the process of measurement once the assumptions have been made. So the real contribution of the academic community has often to do less with the application of pretty rudimentary "scientific" techniques than with the scholarly dissection of the nature of the value judgments being

made and the trade-offs involved in policy choices. Ironically, therefore, if Sir Keith were to succeed in forcing the SSRC to change its name, this might well be to the advantage of the academic community. On balance, it may be more sensible to aspire to first-class scholarship and intellectual analysis than to what (by the criteria of the natural sciences) will always be a second-class form of science.

But whether or not the SSRC changes its name, the Brown and Madge study suggests that friction between the academic community and the politicians will continue. The cycle of deprivation programme, as documented in their book, hardly shows the research community at its best; the researchers climbed on to the financial bandwagon, intent on pursuing their own individual interests rather than on addressing themselves to their brief, or working out a coherent package. But to the extent

Pills in perspective

Donald Gould

ARABELLA MELVILLE and COLIN JOHNSON

Cured to Death: The Effects of Prescription Drugs
261pp. Secker and Warburg. £8.50.
0 56 27686 0

The authors of *Cured to Death* make no bones about their purpose, and start Chapter One with a bang, stating that "Western medicine has made a fundamental error in allowing itself to become reliant upon the universal use of drug therapy". The next 100,000 words or so are devoted to supporting this thesis, and governments, doctors, patients, and (most particularly, of course) the pharmaceutical industry all come in for their share of the blame.

Everybody who ever reads a newspaper or watches television knows that modern synthetic medicines have side-effects which can be serious (like roach). The thalidomide affair punched that unhappy truth into our collective consciousness, and we are reminded of the fact at regular intervals, most recently by the withdrawal of Opren after it was discovered that this pill for relieving the pain and swelling of arthritis (which it often accomplished very well) was killing an undue proportion of its users.

Arabella Melville and Colin Johnson naturally (gleefully, perhaps) provide

details of the more notorious drug disasters of the past couple of decades, together with some harrowing case histories. But only a tiny proportion of users suffer death or dramatic harm from medicines, such as blindness or cancer or grave anaemia, and the important aspect of the story told in *Cured to Death* is the manner in which our addiction to pills and potions results in a massive amount of lesser suffering, and how it distorts the pattern of medical care.

Britain, with a population of 56 million, is getting through around 350 million NHS prescriptions each year, which amounts to just over half-a-dozen packages of potential poisons for every man, woman and child in the land, for there is no such thing as a safe drug. Illness resulting from this massive distribution of dangerous chemicals is now responsible for about five per cent of hospital admissions, and some 30 per cent of hospital patients suffer some kind of unwanted effects from medicines administered during their stay. The numbers similarly afflicted within the community of large must be enormous. Melville and Johnson offer the estimate of over one million significant adverse drug reactions occurring in Britain every year, and this is probably the order of the problem.

Of course many, but by no means all, of the 2,000-odd prescription drugs available can relieve suffering and save lives when properly used, so the authors of this treatise somewhat

grudgingly concede. The trouble is that many of these powerful compounds are so often misused. Not long ago the then chairman of Britain's official Medicines Commission said to me that "Doctors of my generation, particularly those in general practice (because hospital doctors do pick up a certain amount of information) have no idea how to use, I suppose, ninety per cent of modern drugs." And a High Street chemist, a past president of the Pharmaceutical Society, has described the prescribing habits of doctors as "dabbling". Melville and Johnson argue that the public trust in the myth of "a pill for every ill", the doctors' lack of understanding of modern medicines, and the drug industry's aggressive and extremely skillful marketing techniques, all combine to ensure that excessive and inappropriate prescribing is commonplace.

Three-quarters of all consultations in general practice in Britain end with the issue of a prescription. This is the easiest way to resolve these usually grotesquely brief confrontations between doctors and their customers to the instant satisfaction of those involved. Something positive has been done, never mind whether or no it is the best that could have been done. However, one GP I know has managed to cut his prescribing to one fifth of the national average without apparent detriment to his clientele, who, after some original resistance, now actually count themselves fortunate and well cared-for.

Arabella Melville is described on the dust-jacket as a psychologist, and Colin Johnson as a freelance journalist; so neither has first-hand experience of the problems they describe (except, perhaps, as patients). But they have read and consulted widely, and list over 500 references in support of their claims and arguments. Sometimes they make dubious assertions, and the text as a whole is marred by a number of errors in their case. But it is far enough, given the stated purpose of the work.

Doubtless the pharmaceutical industry and a good many doctors will rail against *Cured to Death*, seeing it as a biased and unbalanced piece of propaganda. And doubtless the authors will expect no less. They can console themselves that despite the bias, and some challengeable statements and conclusions, they have made out a convincing case for the prosecution. It is time we came to our senses in the matter of our use of modern medicines.

The Other Britain, edited by Paul Barker (270pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £9.95. 0 7100 9308 X) is a selection of some thirty-odd essays, all of which originally appeared in the magazine *New Society*, whose twentieth anniversary is marked by this book. The collection is intended to highlight and celebrate the variety and contrast of British ways of life. Contributors include Angela Carter, Jeremy Sandbrook, Paul Harrison, Ian Walker and Lincoln Allison.

John Levett

